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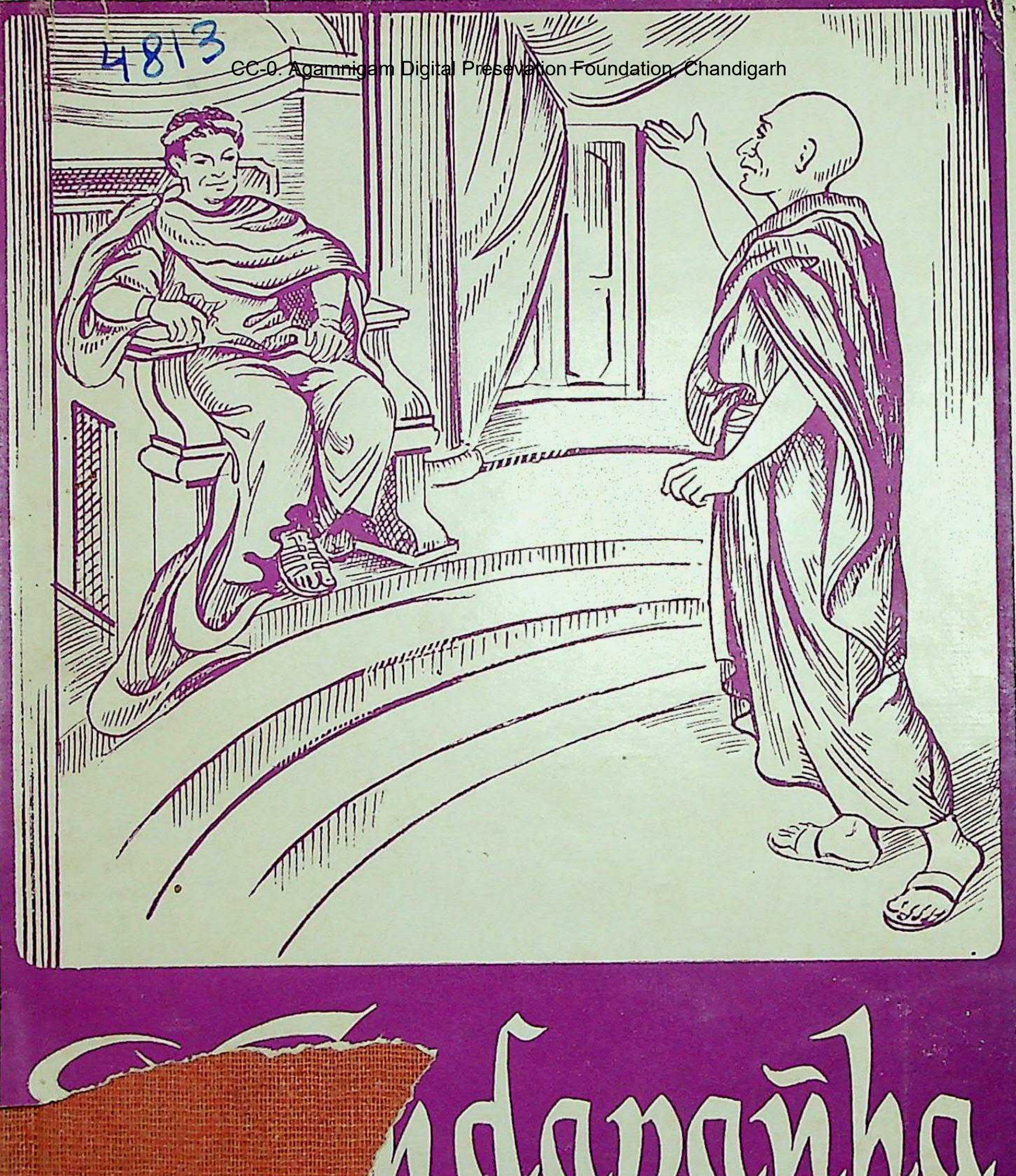

# ndapañha

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# A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE MILINDAPAÑHA

## *(A Critique of Buddhist Philosophy)*

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*Thesis approved for*
*the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy*
*in the University of Calcutta*

# PREFACE

In the following pages is presented a critical study of the Milindapañha in some of its important aspects not dealt with by any other scholar. It is one of the most important non-canonical Pali texts composed not earlier than the first century of the Christian Era. It is a dialogue between king Milinda, who is no other than the Bactrian Greek king Menander, and Thera Nāgasena, a famous Buddhist monk. It contains seven parts dealing mainly with the intricate philosophical problems of Buddhism. The original text which is lost to us was composed in Sanskrit or some northern Prakrit dialect.

The present book is divided into six chapters. The first chapter probes the probable date of composition of the text, the authorship, etc. The second one shows the importance of the book. The third one gives an outline of the text. The fourth one deals with the political, social, educational, economic and religious condition of the then India as depicted in the text. The fifth one discusses the nature of the dilemmas dealt with in the text. The sixth and the concluding one provide with the teachings as inculcated in the text.

Some of the chapters were published in various journals.

I take the opportunity to express my gratitude to my revered teacher, Dr. Anukul Chandra Banerjee, M. A., Ll. B., Ph. D., F. A. S., F. R. A. S. (London), Ex. Dean, Faculty of Arts, and Ex. Professor & Head of the Department of Pali, Calcutta University, under whose guidance I completed this work. I also express my gratitude to my revered teacher, Dr. Sukumar Sengupta, M. A., Ph. D., Suttavisārada, whose affectionate advice in course of my work helped me much. I am also indebted to Mrs. Suniti Sanyal, M. A., B. T., Inspectress of Halls and Hostels, Calcutta University, in various ways while preparing my work.

Buddha Pūrṇimā
3rd May, 1977
Calcutta.

**RABINDRA NATH BASU**

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# ABBREVIATIONS

AN — Aṅguttara Nikāya.
ANA — Aṅguttara Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā
Ap — Apadāna
BudvA — Buddhavaṁsa Aṭṭhakathā
CHI — Cambridge History of India
Compemdium — Compendium of Philosophy
Cv — Cullavagga
Dhp — Dhammapada
DhpA — Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā
Dhs — Dhammasaṅgani
DhsA — Dhammasaṅgani Aṭṭhakathā, Translation by C. A. F. Rhys Davids
Dial — Dialogues of Buddha
DN — Dīgha Nikāya
DNA — Dīgha Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā
ERE — Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics
IBH — Milinda's Questions, translation by I. B. Horner
ICAR — Indian Council of Agricultural Research
IHQ — Indian Historical Quarterly
Jā — Jātaka
JPTS — Journal of the Pali Text Society
JRAS — Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
KhpA — Khuddakapāṭha Aṭṭhakathā
KvA — Kathāvatthu Aṭṭhakathā
Miln — Milindapañha, text ed. by V. Trenckner
MilnṬ — Milindapañha Ṭikā
MN — Majjhima Nikāya
MNA — Majjhima Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā
Mv — Mahāvagga
Nid — Niddesa
PED — Pali-English Dictionary
QKM — Questions of King Milinda, translation by T. W. Rhys Davids

SN — Saṁyutta Nikāya
SNA — Saṁyutta Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā
Ud — Udāna
VbhA — Vibhaṅga Aṭṭhakathā
Vin — Vinayapiṭaka
Vism — Visuddhimagga
VvA — Vimānavatthu Aṭṭhakathā

---

## CORRECTIONS

| *Page* | *Line* | |
|---|---|---|
| 8 | 12 | it for he |
| | 13 | A.D. for B.C. |
| | 31 | *Nikāyas* for Nlkāyas |
| 9 | 26 | *Milindapañha* for Milinbapañha |
| 12 | 10 | *Milindapañha* for Millindapañha |
| 14 | 19 | ideal for deal |
| 16 | 4 | Milindapañha for Milindnpanha |
| 26 | 15 | achieve for achieved |
| | 29 | Buddha for Budha |
| 28 | 12 | Knife for Kinfe |
| 30 | 32 | he for be |
| 31 | 9 | of for ef |
| 81 | 12 | ancient for ancientt |
| 82 | 13 | influence for influenee |

# CHAPTER I

The *Milindapañha* (Questions of Milinda) is the one extant work which stands just outside the range of the *Tipiṭaka*, the Pali canonical literature of the Buddhists. Its importance as an exegesis of different Buddhist doctrines, those forming the favourite theme in the canon, cannot be denied. Curiously enough the title of the book shows a combination of foreign and Pali words. Milinda of the text is the Greek king Menander beyond any question and Nāgasena is a wise Buddhist monk whose identity, however, cannot be established with any amount of certainty.

The text falls into two distinct divisions ; the first comprises of pp. 1-89 being parts I-III of Trenckner's edition. The second and comparatively longer portion contains parts IV-VII. The first three parts refer generally to the doctrine about the existence of Ātman, Nirvāna, about rebirth and death, Saṁsāra, the activities of Citta, Cetasikas and their characteristic features. These are primarily meant, as is evident from the text, for the people who are cognizant of or associated with the Greek king Menander. These non-Indians who had a critical mind, would not probably be inclined to accept out of veneration for the great Teacher, all the views and sayings attributed to him. Hence, the explanations are enlivened with simple and easy similes so that they can follow and understand easily the knotty problems of Buddhism. The end of the third part serves as a befitting conclusion of the text. The second conversation is over, all questions and answers appear to have already exhausted, the gifts have been given by the king and both take leave of each other, without any hints for further meeting. The text thus closes with the following words "Milindapañhānampucchāvissajjanāsamattā"[1]. The second division, that is, the bulky portion of the text mainly concerns with such difficult doctrines which are undoubtedly incomprehensible by the simple folk in general, more particularly the Greeks at the time, who were not familiar with the tenets of Buddhism. The dotrines dealt in this division are more complicated, more subtle, which require a thorough knowledge of the canonical texts.

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[1] Miln. p. 89 – Here ends the answering of the problems of the questions of Milinda.

It may, however, be mentioned here that in the Pre-Christian eras logic did not develop considerably. The tough problems were solved by the help of similes and not by logical argument. These similes were of popular type. They were mainly concerned with the daily life of the people. The *Milindapañha* also follows the same method and abundantly uses similes of everyday life colouring them suitably with materials. It gives a clear exposition of the fundamentals of the Buddhist doctrines, disciplinary rules and moral teachings.

The main purpose of the work is to dispel doubts of various tenets of Buddhism. These problems have been cast in the form of dialogue between king Milinda and Thera Nāgasena. In Indian tradition it is a commonplace and philosophical disputations were carried out to convince the opposite side and in conclusion the enquirer became the disciple of the victor[1]. This kind of dialogue has inclined Dr. Tarn to think that "the dialogue had become in India a well-established literary form for the conveyance of instruction in religion or philosophy"[2] In its style there is probably a similarity to those of the dialogues of Plato. As Dr. Tarn says "what was not known in Indian literature—what had never happened before and was not to happen again—was that the interlocutor in a dialogue should be a foreign king and that the aim of the interlocutor should be a dialectical victory; for the interlocutors in the Dialogues of Buddha, like those in the Dialogues of Plato, are only an agreeable piece of machinery for eliciting the opinions of Buddha or Socrates"[3]. Dr. Rhys Davids, on the other hand, thinks

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1. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, pp. 247-8 ; Buddhism, p. 98 ; and also L. H. Grey, ERE Vol. VII, p. 721.
2. W. W. Tarn, The Greeks in India and Bactria, p. 415.
3. Ibid.

on the mention of six heretical teachers and the re-enactment of the conversation of king Milinda with Puraṇa Kassapa and Mokkhali Gosāla in the introductory section of the text that they echo the introduction to an older dialogue of Sāmañña-phala Sutta of the *Dīgha Nikāya*[1]. Again, he remarks that "In all probability it was with the Sakkapañha Suttanta in his mind that the author of the Milindapañha, whoever he was, framed his work"[2]. In that *Sut:anta,* it is said, Sakka—the king of Gods, is represented as coming to the Buddha to have his doubts resolved, just the Greek king Menander is represented here as putting puzzles to Nāgasena, a wise Buddhist teacher of his time. Dr. Winternitz also shares the views of Rhys Davids as to the similarity of the dialogues with that of the Buddhist dialogues, and he goes one step further to prove that this mode of dialogues has no foreign designs and has been made purely on Indian tradition. He writes that "This is, however, unlikely, if only because the Millidapañha dialogues has so many models in the dialogues of the Upaniṣads, in the ascetic poetry of the Mahābhārata and in the Tipiṭaka, that there is no reason for supposing a Greek prototype. Neither does the Milindapañha show any trace whatever of a knowledge of the Greek language or of the Greek world of thought"[3]. Some authors, however, are inclined to accept the above views. Dr. Tarn says "But though Indian scholars may be reminded of the Sāmaññaphala Sutta or the Upanishads, any Greek scholar who looks into the Milinda will, at once, be reminded of something very different, a Hellenistic work in which the writer makes a foreign king put a large number of questions to the wise man of the writer's own race and creed, the whole work being designed to do for the religion of the Jewish writer what Part I of the Milinda was designed to do for the religion of its Buddhist author: the Letter of Pseudo –Aresteas"[4]. The

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1. Rhys Davids, QKM. p. 8, n. 2.
2. Rhys Davids, Milinda, ERE. Vol. VIII.
3. M. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, p. 176, n. 2; also citing Garbe, op. cit. p. 114; Mrs. Rhys Davids, op. cit., p. 21.
4. W. W. Tarn, The Greeks in India and Bactria, p. 416.

questions put in it are callled in Greek aporiai, that is, commonplace but hard questions[1]. He has painstakingly discussed it and arrived at the conclusion that "The investigation, I fear, is going to take us right down one of the by-paths of Hellenistic Literature..."[2].

King Milinda is a historical figure and was known to classical Greek historians as Menander. There is not yet consensus of opinion as to his dates. Different scholars have assigned his regnal years to different dates. Vincent Smith[3] gives his regnal years as about 160-140 B. C. ; A. K. Narain[4] as approximately 155-130 B. C. ; while Rapson[5] says "Menander and Eucratides were almost certainaly contemporary", that is, 175 B, C.[6]

Here is given a brief outline of Menander's territories which was as follows. It comprised not only the whole of the regions of the Indus as well as Guzerat, but the Ganges provinces too.

"The recent publication of the Mir Zakah Treasure confirms the rule of Menander in Ghazni and adjoining areas of Kabul valley in the north ; the coins in that treasure......are 521 of Menander. Menander who was born in Alasanda (Miln 82) is called a king of Bactria by Plutarch, and Apollodorus regards him as a Bactrian Greek king ; it is hardly likely that the western classical sources would have referred to Menander thus had he not ruled over atleast the Paropamisadae in the west. And now the discovery of an Attic tetadrachm of Menander sets speculation at rest ; he must have reigned over the Kabul region and may also have made some encroachments north of the Hinduksh.

"With the Paropamisadae in his possession Menander may have advanced east and south to supplant the rule of Eucratides in Gandhara, Arachosia and Seistan. But there is hardly any

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1. W. W. Tarn, The Greeks in India and Bactria, p. 416, n. 3.
2. Ibid p. 424.
3. Oxford History of India, 2nd Edn. p. 124.
4. The Indo-Greeks, p. 181
5. CHI, pp. 446, 551, 669.
6. A. K. Narain holds that Menander "started his career almost immediately after the death of Eucratides I"—Indo-Greeks, p. 76.

evidence that he occupied the two latter regions...... It is possible, however, that some parts of northern and eastern Arachosia......were included in the kingdom of Menander.

"Menander's occupation of Gandhara, with its two great centres Puskalavati and Taxila, is amply proved by the numerous finds of his coins ... Menander's ... greatness lies in the fact that he extended the Indo-Greek kingdom beyond Gandhara.

"In the north he occupied Hazara and the Swat Valley... And now, with the discovery of the Bazaur Casket Inscription of the reign of Menander, it is quite certain that the Swat Valley was included within his kingdom......

"Since he was in possession of Taxila the command of Menander may have been obeyed in the Sind-Sagal Doab, 'which had belonged to the old Taxilan kingdom and extended right across the western Panjab as far as the Panjnad'......

"The evidence of Menander's possession of the Madra country sought in the Milindapñha is weak. Even if Sagala proves to be Sialkot it does not seem to have been Menander's capital, for the Milindapañha states (p. 1) that Milinda repaired to Sagala to meet Nāgasena, just as the Ganges river goes down to the sea"[1].

As already observed, the text is considered as a most authoritative work on Buddhism outside the canonical literature not only in India but in the countries where Buddhism is claimed to be the state religion like Ceylon, Burma, Siam and the like. Its authority is, further, evident when the great commentator Buddhaghosa takes it as an "unimpeachable authority" on a level with the canonical texts.[2] Rhys Davids rightly observes, "It is not merely the only work composed among the northern Buddhists which is regarded with reverence by the orthodox Buddhists of the southern schools, it is the only one which has survived at all amongst them"[3].

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1. A. K. Narain, The Indo-Greeks, pp. 78ff, cited in IBH, Vol. I, Introduction, pp 24-25.
2. M. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, p. 176.
3. Rhys Davids, QKM, Vol. I, p. XII.

There is almost unanimity of opinion that this book is a translation of an original work which belongs to North-West India and that must have been written in Sanskrit or some northern Prakrit[1]. But unfortunately the original text is lost.

In Chinese we also find two separate works entitled "*The Book of the Bhikṣu Nāgasena Sūtra*". These recensions correspond to the first three parts but are wanting the last four parts of the Pali *Milindapañha*. The Chinese recension, as Takakusu shows[2], was compiled during the Eastern Tsin Dynasty. The absence of the second division of the Pali *Milindapañha* has led many scholars to think that these are added later on by the Buddhist scholiasts of Ceylon. Winternitz says in this context that "the most striking evidence of the spuriousness of Books IV-VII is the fact that they are absent in the Chinese translations which is supposed to have originated 317 and 420 A.D."[3]. Rhys Davids, on the otherhand, thinks "......there is some connexion between the Chinese and Pali Books. It is possible that the Indian original out of which the Pali was developed, mainly by the additions of the last three books. It is equally possible that the Indian work translated into Cninese was itself derived from an older work in seven books and that its authors or author omitted the last three books as dealing with arhantship, in which he (or they) took no interest"[4]. Ven. Ananda Kousalyayana[5] is also of the same opinion that the Chinese translators might have dropped the last three chapters. Whatever be the views, the Pali *Milindapañha* is not, undoubtedly, free from accretions and omissions[6].

From the internal evidence of the first division of the text it may be presumed that the Pali text belongs to the Theravāda

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1. Rhys Davids, QKM, Vol. I, p. XI, Vol. II, p. XII ; M. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, p. 174 ; Mrs. Rhys Davids, op. cit. p. 5 ; B. C. Law, History of Pali Literature.
2. J. R A. S , 1896.
3. M. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, pp. 176ff.
4. Rhys Davids, Milinda, ERE Vol. VIII.
5. 2500 Years of Buddhism, ed. by P. V. Bapat, p. 207.
6. M. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, Vol. II. p. 176.

school of Buddhist thought. The mention of seven *Abhidhamma* texts, exposition of seven sabhacittasādhāraṇa cetasikas such as phasso, vedanā, saññā, cetanā, ekaggatā, jivitīndriyaṁ and manasikāro are the common features of Pali *Abhidhamma.* It is striking to note here that no sects other than Theravāda do accept jivitīndriyaṃ as one of the classifications of sabhacittasādhāraṇa cetasikas[1]. Again 108 types of feelings divided into three parts, viz., pleasant, unpleasant and neutral feelings, are akin to Pali *Abhidhamma*, the stereotyped formula of Dependent Origination (Paṭiccasamuppāda) and the like, all point to a particular school of Buddhist thought. The second division practically devotes to apologetic systems which are not probably meant for any layman. The dilemmas and exegetics bear a stamp of dogmatic expressions. This has led Rhys Davids to think that the 'general feeling' of the people completely deviated from the stereotyped formula of Buddhist ethics. He observes "The doctrine of an emancipation to be reached in this life by strenuous mental exertion was, not unnaturally, yielding place to a devotion of salvation in the next life through Bhakti—personal devotion to a deity. The psychological details of the old system of self-control rather bored people. So the Milinda, may, quite possibly, have been reduced to a short and easy book, with the stint of arhantship taken out of it"[2].

Thus, it is apparent, that the vivacity and sobriety and with which the first division vibrates is quite absent in the second division, although it bears a stamp of eloquence on the part of the compiler.

Several scholars—both western and eastern—have tried various sources to arrive at a possible date of composition of the text. But their opinions do not agree with one another. It is really difficult to ascertain the date as to the composition of this text. King Milinda of the text is no other than the Bactrian Greek king Menander who has long been identified with. We have seen before he is ascribed probably to the 1st century B.C. and ruled over a great empire. It is not improbable that the religious domination at the time of his reign in north-western part of India was predominantly Buddhists. So he must have been closely connected with the Buddhist community[1]. Immediately after his death, the Greek rule in India came to an end. It is most probable that the text was composed when 'the memory of this Greek king was still green'[2], as scholars hold that it must have taken place not more than a century after the death of Menander. Hence, he can be assumed more likely in the first century B. C.[3] Further, Buddhaghosa, the celebrated Buddhist commentator, who flourished in the 5th century A. D. has utilised this text as a source of authority in his commentaries. Rhys Davids[4] writes, "this is not only the book outside the Pali Piṭakas, which Buddhaghosa defers to in this way, it is the only book, except the previous commentaries which he is known even to refer to at all".

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[1] Among the forty-six caitasikas of the Sarvāstivādins, jivitīndriyaṁ is not classified among the ten mahābhumikas along with vedanā, saṁjñā, sparśa, etc but it is classified in Cittaviprayuktadharma ; N. Dutt, Early Monastic Buddhism, pp. 141-142, n. 2.

[2] Milinda, ERE Vol. VIII.

Let us now see what internal evidence can provide us to ascertain the possible date of composition. The text frequently quotes from the *Tipiṭakas*, and mentions even the name of the *Sutta*, the *Nikāya*, the seven *Abhidhamma* books by name and last of all the name of *Tipiṭaka*. Thus, incidentally, we find mention of *Mahāsamayasuttanta*, *Mahāmaṅgalasuttanta*, *Samacittapariyāyasuttanta*, *Rāhulavādasuttanta*, *Parābhavasuttanta*, the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* etc.[5] These quotations show that the text came into existence at a time when the Buddhavacanas were already classified into *Suttanta*, *Vinaya* and *Abhidhamma*, and that the *Suttanta* was already subdivided into *Nīkāyas*. The mention of all the seven books of *Abhi-*

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1. M. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, p. 175; W. W. Tarn, The Greeks in India and Bactria, pp. 268-9.
2. M. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, p.175.
3. M. Winternitz, op. cit; Rhys Davids, QKM, op. cit.
4. Rhys Dovids, QKM, Vol. I, p.xvi.
5. Miln. pp.19, 20, 36, etc.

*dhamma* signifies that the Pali text was compiled after the Third Buddhist Council when these were supposed to be collected and also after the complete growth of the *Abhidhamma* literature. Again, the text mentions the name of Moggaliputta Tissathera, the famous convenor of the Third Buddhist Council, along with the Buddha's prediction as to the future life of Milinda and Nāgasena, with the obvious reference to Moggaliputta being also predicted by the Buddha to be the future convenor of the Council. This has led Dr. Winternitz to think that this "would seem to point to a considerable, though not unduly protracted, interval of time between the author of Milindapāñha and Tissa Moggaliputta (if it is he who is meant) who lived in the 3rd century B. C."[1].

Thus, on the probable date of composition of the text, Rhys Davids has come to the conclusion that "the book is later than the Canonical books of the Pali Piṭakas (the author of the Milindapāñha quotes a large number of passages from the Piṭaka text) and on the other hand, not only older than the great commentaries, but the only book outside the canon, regarded in them as an authority which may be implicitly followed"[2].

Anyhow, the *Milindapāñha*, being a book of "didactic ethics and religious controversy cast into the form of historical romance"[3] should not be referred to as historical evidence and we all are aware that we do not expect such historical data from our *Milinbapañha*.

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[1] Miln. p. 71 ; M. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, p. 175, n. 2.

[2] QKM. i, Introduction, p. 38.

[3] Ibid p. 24.

# CHAPTER II

The text deals mainly with the explanations of riddles employed by the Buddha. These riddles have been clearly explained by Nāgasena chiefly with the help from the canonical texts. In other words, they have largely been taken from the Pali canonical works to support the propositions. Nāgasena faces the problems put to him by king Milinda with courage, clear-sightendness and intelligence. Sometimes he deviates from the Piṭakan spheres and uses such passages which are 'truly canonical in flavour' and not found in them as yet. For the sake of appeasing the inquirer, he also uses such tenets which are foreign to Pali tradition. It is not surprising if we find in a work so long and so rich as the *Milindapañha* variations from the actual record. I. B. Horner is right in regard to the liberty of Nāgasena in choosing freely non-canonical notions when she says that 'though he freely cites statements and sayings that had been recorded in the Pali Canon already, he was also perfectly at liberty to take what he liked from literature outside this'[1]. Thus it is apparent that the text has ample references of such tenets and notions. Taking references of such non-canonical terms and notions some scholars hold that the 'negative dogmatism' of Buddhism as explained by Nāgasena hastened the process of development of the new forms of Buddhism otherwise known as Mahāyāna. Certain expositions and terms such as Dharmakāya, emancipation through deep devotion, Bodhisattva ideal, transference of merit, the practice of Bhakti cult—all these are said to have shown a clear view of Mahāyānic approach rather than the negative philosophy of Hinayāna. The Hinayāna ignored the groping of the spirit of man after something higher and wronged the spiritual side of man[2].

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1. IBH, Introduction, p.39.
2. Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosophy, Vol. I, pp.589-90.

Let us now discuss a few of such tenets and notions as found in the text :

In one of his answers to the king's question about the possibility of showing the Buddha either here or there, Nāgasena has told the king that the Buddha cannot be pointed out, for he has completely attained the final Nibbāna without any substrata remaining for future birth. But it is possible to point to the Lord by means of the body of Dhamma (dhammakāyena). The word 'dhammakāyena' has been used in the Instrumental case and is rarely met with in the Theravāda canon. We find It is mentioned only once throughout the canon[1]. The Mahāyānic idea of Dharmakāya as one of the three conceptions of the body of the Buddha[2] is the body made pure by the practice of the bodhipakṣiya and other dharmas that make a Buddha. "It is the real identical nature of every Buddha, and of every being, but this is not a body at all ; it is simply the 'void', 'śunyatā'[3]. It is not improbable, however, that Nāgasena uses the word dhammakāya to mean as the body of doctrine, the doctrine taught by the Buddha. Prior to this, we read that Nāgasena has convinced the king about the pre-eminence of the Lord when he says "who sees Dhamma sees the Lord, for Dhamma, sir, was taught by the Lord"[4]. Hence, the tendency of Nāgasena is clear and claimed to teach the Buddha-way as pointed out by the Master. Another important feature of Mahāyānistic thought of emancipation through deep devotion is said to be contained in this text. 'Blind faith' or devotion in belief is unknown to Buddhism It does but accept a reasonable belief for the purpose of testing it, and the Buddha himself is only a guide who has pointed the way. He is a friend, philosopher and guide to the erring mankind. Belief is of value as a prelude to experience. Theravāda Buddhism always lays emphasis on the

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1. DN iii, p. 84 ; PED q.v. Dhamma, p.171.
2. The other two being Sambhogakāya, the human body of the Buddha and Nirmānakāya, the subtle body of the Buddha.
3. A. C. Banerjee, Buddhism in India and Abroad, p.114.
4. Yo dhammaṁ passati so Bhagavantaṁ passati, dhammo hi mahārāja Bhagavato desito—Miln. p. 17, Cf. also SN iii, p. 120.

self-development by strenuous thought and meditation and the individual must sooner or later work out his own salvation with diligence[1]. Just as a caravan leader leads way to the unknown travellers across the desert, or a ship crosses the sea laden with beings on board, so one who is moral, possesses of moral habits can cross the realm of births or of four floods (ogha)[2]. That is why we find defilements (kilesas) are mentioned frequently in the text as "very real enemies of the spirit to be watched constantly and routed". There is another unusual expression peculiar to *Millindapañha* : "And if for a hundred years, sir, a man were to advert to the skill he had done, then while he is repeatedly adverting to it, the skill increases more and more ; and it is possible to share that skill with whomever he likes"[3]. It is quite contradictory to the Piṭakan teachings. The first part of the sentence fairly agrees with the canon to that of a person's storing up of merit for himself. But the second and third parts, that of his increasing it by reflecting on it or adverting to it over and over again, and then sharing it according to his choice of recipients—this notion do not conform to the canoncial view. It is, rather, a tenet that can be found with the Mahāyānic 'transference of merit'. "The essential nature of all Bodhisattvas is a great loving-heart (Mahākaruṇacitta) and all sentient beings constitute the object of his love"[4]. Thus the Bodhisattva out of compassion for the benefit of the living beings becomes self-forgetful and cares not for the self-reward of his acts of merit (puñña). He gladly 'turns it over' to the good of all. From the Theravāda point of view the skill (kusala) is acquired by the practice of right action (sammā kammantā). It ensures the pleasant consequences of his deeds. As Nāgasena observes[5] that by doing skilful acts

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1. Apppmādo amatapadaṁ Dhp. 21.
2. Miln. p.195. The fonr oghas are : kāma (sense-pleasure), bhava (becomings), diṭṭhi (wrong view) and avijjā (ignorance).
3. Vassasate ce pi mahārāja puriso kataṁ kusalaṁ āvajjeyya, āvajjite āvajjite bhiyyo bhiyyo kusalaṁ pavaḍḍhati, tassa taṁ kusalaṁ sakkā hoti yathicchakehi saddhehi saṁvibhajituṁ—Miln. p. 297.
4. D. T. Suzuki, Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism, p. 292.
5. Miln. pp. 83-84, 290.

there is no remorse felt by the doer. By the absence of remorse rapture is born, by rapture joy, joyful body is calmed down then he experiences happiness, a happy mind is concentrated and thus he comprehends the real nature of all things[1]. Kusaḷa, however, is a concept superior in everyway to puñña (merit).

Another interesting episode can be found here when Nāgasena speaks of paying veneration to Buddhas or to their reliquary substances in a ritualistic way[2]. Theravāda Buddhism, in fact lays greatest stress on the ethical side of human endeavour. In other words, it is a system founded entirely on ethical principle. This sort of ritualistic worship of Buddha (Buddha-pūjā) is quite alien to its original concept. Actually the members of the order (saṅgha) who embrace monk's life are not supposed to waste their time in such a way. Their main business is to purify themselves through strictly following the ethical codes prescribed for attaining the highest bliss—Nibbāna. Man's emancipation, according to Buddha, lay not in prayer and worship but in his own right efforts and wisdom which aspect may be called emancipation through works[3]. At the time of his Mahāparinibbāṇa Buddha advised his disciple to act and behave in accordance with the Dhamma and ethical principles and such conduct would be more worthy of him than ostentatious adoration[4]. Here Nāgasena's contention is quite clear when he says : "For this, sir, is not work for the Conqueror's sons, that is to say, veneration"[5]. He then continues to explain different aspects for their acquiring knowledge. Further, the words "you will go to heaven" should have sufficient indication that this is not intended for monks, but for lay people, because 'heaven' is not a goal for monks. Nevertheless, a growing cult of devotional worship cannot be ruled out.

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[1] Puññaṁ......karanto avippaṭisāri hoti, avippaṭisārissa pāmojjaṁ jāyati, pamuditassa pīti jāyati, pītimanassa kāyo passambhati, passaddhakāyo sukhaṁ vedeti sukhino cittaṁ samādhiyati, samāhito yathābhutaṁ pajānāti—Miln. p. 84.

[2] Miln. pp. 177 ff.

[3] McGovern, Mahāyāna, p.103.

[4] Cf. DN iii, p. 138.

[5] Miln. pp. 177-178.

The ideal of the Theravāda school is the attainment of Arhatship which is the highest stage of the path leading to Nibbāna. When he reaches that perfect state of dispassionateness, he becomes a 'worthy man'. It is a "life where all (future) births is at an end, where the holy life is fully achieved, where all that had to be done has been done and there is no return to worldly life"[1]. In other words, the Arhat ideal is the self-centred one which is acquired by strenuous efforts. But in Mahāyāna, Bodhisattva is full of compassion who dedicates his life for the welfare of mankind[2]. Bodhisattva literally means one whose essence or being (sattva) is perfect knowledge (bodhi). In other words, one in whom there is essence of perfect wisdom. But it is used in a technical sense which means a being who is on the way to Buddhahood (enlightment) but has not yet obtained it. The text has ample references to show that the earlier Arhat-deal of the Theravāda has almost been replaced by the Bodhisattva ideal of Mahāyāna. It is further, replete with the various discussions on Bodhisattas.

In passing, it may not be out of place to mention here that at all events the basis and germs of Mahāyāna Buddhism can be traced here which have immensely helped the growth and spread of this school of Buddhist thought.

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1. Cf. Khiṇāsavā dhotamalā vantakilesā vusitavanto katakaraṇiyā ohitabhārā anuppattasadatthā parikkhīṇa bhavasaṁyojanā pattapaṭisambhidā Miln. p. 104.
2. This high ideal of helping the suffering fellow-beings is not altogether absent in the Theravāda Buddhism. The Jātakas which represent the history of former lives of Buddha as Bodhisatta illustrate this ideal. For instance as a Bodhisatta Sumedha he helps others even sacrificing his own Nibbāna. Furthermore, he dedicates his own life in order to appease the hunger of a tiger. Thus it shows that the ideal of Mahāyāna Bodhisattva may be traced in Theravāda canon; also cf Rāhula Sāṅkrityāyana, Hinayāna and Mahāyāna Compared, The Mahā Bodhi Journal, Vol. 81, No. 11-12, 1973, pp.423ff.

Nāgasena's view of unconstructedness of Ākāsa (space) is arresting in this context. The king wants to know that what is in the world that is not born of kamma, not born of cause, not born of physical change. Nāgasena in reply pursuaded the king to believe that neither ākāsa nor nibbāna is born of kamma, cause or chemical change[1]. It is striking to note here that Nāgasena's exposition of unconstructedness of ākāsa has no support in the Piṭakan teaching. Ākāsa is regarded as one of the elements (dhātu) which is changeable[2]. The one and the only thing (dhamma) in Theravāda is Nibbāna which is uncompounded and not produced by any cause. On the other hand, it is a tenet that can be found in Sarvāstivāda thought where three dharmas—ākāsa and two nibbānas viz., pratisaṁkhyānirodha and apratisaṁkhyānirodho—are taken to be unconstructed (asaṁskṛta)[3]. Thus, in fact, this tradition has no parallel in the canonical sphere and it is most probably an 'innovation' made in the *Milindapañha* which speaks for its material deviation from Pali Piṭakan teachings.

Let us now discuss the nature of the text. The *Milindapañha* is undoubtedly not a small work. It covers a wide range and much ground on the tenets of Buddhism. For the sake of better understanding of the teachings of the Great Master as also for the clarifications of problematical puzzles, the deep erudition on the part of its compiler is worth noting. We find in the later productions of Buddhist ethical and metaphysical treatises, more particularly in the *Commentaries*, the expositions of Nāgasena as we find in this text, either have taken in verbatim or taken with modifications. It may not be out of place to mention here that Rhys Davids[4], I. B. Horner[5] and others have pointed out in their works that Buddhaghosa has extensively quoted passages in his commentaries, specially the *Visuddhi-*

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1. Miln. pp. 268, 271.
2. DN iii, p. 247.
3. Abhidharma-kośa, i-5, pp. 6 ff; Cf. A. C. Banerjee, Buddhism in India and Abroad, pp. 92-93.
4. QKM i, Introduction, pp. 14-15.
5. IBH, Introduction, p. 20.

*magga.* The monumental work of Buddhaghosa the *Visuddhimagga*, which "sets out the detailed practical instructions for developing purification"[1], contains a number of prose and verse passages from the *Milindnpanha* as point of reference and authority[2]. However, Rhys Davids has pointed out that the actual words quoted by Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the '*Book of Great Decease*' and on the *Ambaṭṭhasutta* are not the same as those of our author and the corresponding passages of Mr. Trenckner's text. although they are the same in substance. He is of the opinion that "It is premature to attempt to arrive at the reason of this difference between Buddhaghosa's editions and Mr. Trenckner's edition of the text," but at least we can say that Buddhaghosa must have *Milindapañha* in his mind as an authoritative text to suit his purposes.

Thus it is apparent that the text plays an important part in Buddhist countries in attempting to make or preserve the faithful record of the sayings of the Master. As Rhys Davids has rightly observed that it is "the only work outside the canon regarded in them as an authority which may be implictly followed"[3].

Another point of interest is the mention of the three Piṭakas by name[4], and certain *Suttas* belonging to the *Nikāyas*[5]. Among them *Abhidhamm Piṭaka* occupies an important position. Throughout the book the term *Abhidhamma* has been employed as many as eleven times as follows :

1) In the introductory gāthā, Nāgasena is said as an expert in the *Abhidhmma*[6].
2) Nāgasena is said to have performed the seemingly incredible feat of mastering the whole of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* after only one exposition of it by his preceptor, Rohaṇa[7].

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[1] Ñānamoli Bhikkhu, Path of Purification, Introduction, p. 9.

[2] Vism., pp. 42, 196, 270, 438.

[3] QKM i, Introduction, p. 38.

[4] Miln pp. 1, 18, 21.

[5] Ibid. pp. 19, 20.

[6] Ibid. p. 1.

[7] Ibid. p. 12.

3) Nāgasena has recited to the company of Arhats the seven *Abhidhamma* books[1] in full to the thunderous applause of Brahma Gods and the shower of Mandārava flowers[2].

4) Nāgasena has preached to the lay devotee the deep *Abhidhamma* and the doctrine related to emptiness (suññatā) and both have obtained the Sotāpatti stage[3].

5) Nāgasena on his way to Pāṭaliputta, has expounded the abstruse philosophy of *Abhidhamma* to the merchant[4].

6) Nāgasena has again resorted to the *Abhidhamma* in his explanation to Anantakāya's querry about Jīva (principle of life) with such an effect that the latter is convinced and becomes a lay devotee[5].

7) Nāgasena has again turned to the *Abhidhamma* for the classification of feelings numbering one hundred and eight kinds in all[6]. These are three types—kusala (pleasant), akusala (unpleasant) and avyākata (neutral feelings)—each divided into six types of feelings connected with the world and six types of feelings connected with the renunciation, then it comes to thirty-six feelings. These feelings are again sub-divided into feelings of the present, past and future, thus arrives at a total of one hundred and eight types of feelings[7].

8) Nāgasena has explained the non-existence of soul with reference to the *Abhidhamma* exposition in a question about the individuality or the soul[8].

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[1] The seven books are: Dhammasaṅgani, Vibhaṅga, Dhātukathā, Puggalapaññatti, Kathāvatthu, Yamaka and Paṭṭhāna.

[2] Miln. pp. 12, 13.

[3] Ibid. p. 16,

[4] Ibid. p. 17.

[5] Ibid. p. 31.

[6] Ibid. p. 45.

[7] Ibid. p. 46.

[8] Ibid. pp. 56-57. In explaining the non-existence of soul, it is said that due to eyes and material forms eye-consciousness arises and

9) Nāgasena has mentioned *Abhidhamma* as a meeting-place of different roads[1].

10) Nāgasena has referred to persons who are experts in the *Abhidhamma*[2].

11) Nāgasena has indicated that an earnest student of yoga (yogāvacara) should possess the knowledge of exposition of *Abhidhamma*[3].

Thus the text has its allegiance more to the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* in its explanations to the different problems for the understanding of the Dhamma than referring to other Piṭakas.

The text abounds with similes from the beginning to the end. The explanations and illustrations of various problems in regard to the Dhamma have been put forth by Nāgasena with apt similes. The presentation of these similes has been made with such an effect that bears its originality. The scheme and purpose of these are apt to illustrate the difficulty of the Dhamma. The profuseness and variety of these similes tend to show the remarkable knowledge on the part of the compiler. When one or two similes do not suffice for the right understanding of the Dhamma, Nāgasena exerts himself with all his might and puts forth a good number of similes. Ultimately he convinces the king and clears his doubts. But sometimes we find when a simple question can be answered in a simple way, Nāgasena is vouching for himself no more than casuistry. These are not only inadequate but also far-fetched. Even

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with the coming together of these factors the following dhammas arise together ; phasso, vedanā, saññā, cetanā, ekaggatā, jivitīndriya and manasikāro. These are the primary cetasikas, mental properties, recognised in the Abhidhamma as bound up with all consciousness (Dhs., p. 556.). The remaining seven organs are dealt with in the same way.

[1] Miln. p. 332.

[2] Ābhidhammika—a word only found in the Commentary, Miln. p. 341, cf. KhpA p. 151.

[3] Miln. p. 381. Knowledge is generally stated comprised of four kinds —knowledge, craving, false view and thinking, VbhA. p.512.

sometimes his arguments are fallacious rather tnan analogous[1]. The last and the final part of the text i.e. *Questions on Talk of Similes* (Opammakathāpañha) enumerates one hundred and five similes under table of contents (mātikā) referring to various qualities. According to Nāgasena, a monk, or more accurately, an earnest student of yoga (yogin yogāvacara) who is regarded as an Arhat, is possessed of such qualities. Although we have not full descriptions of these qualities, we find in it an astonishing feature and lively imaginative power and knowledge on the part of the compiler of various animal characteristics and behaviour as also of the natural history.

The *Milindapañha* is a book of "didactic ethics and religious controversy cast into the form of historical romance"[2]. The words and phrases used in this text are sometimes difficult to understand which has advanced beyond that of the *Nikāyas*[3]. Moreover, on his expositions of difficult problems, Nāgasena's style and the fitness of the words chosen simply tells of its great eloquence. The methods with which Nāgasena closes the long discussions are unique in its presentation and bespeaks of the art of conversations of ancient Indian prose. This mode and mental attitude are maintained throughout the work. There is no denying the fact that whatever defects and demerits this text contains, it is undoubtedly "the masterpiece of Indian prose"[4].

Lastly, it is striking to note here that due to sublime thoughts and philosophical ideal the *Milindapañha* has been given the status of canonical literature—it is taken as a text in the *Khuddaka Nikāya* by the monks of Burma[5].

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[1] Miln. p. 84.

[2] QKM i, Introduction, p. 24.

[3] T. W. Rhys Davids, Milinda, ERE Vol. VIII ; IBH i, Introduction, p. xlvii.

[4] QKM, i, Introduction, p. 27.

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1. Miln. p. 84.
2. QKM i, Introduction, p. 24.
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4. QKM, i, Introduction, p. 27.
5. Mabel Bode, Pali Literature of Burma,.

# CHAPTER III

The book opens with the usual salutation to Buddha. Then it goes on to describe the city of Sāgala, the place where the discussions on main problems of Buddhism takes place between Nāgasena, a Buddhist monk and Milinda, the king of Yona country. Sāgala is the capital, a city with beautiful natural surroundings. It is inhabited by peoples of different castes and creed. It is also full of splendour and grandeur. It is, further, a centre of great trade and commerce. Commodities are available in abundance and are of excellent quality. It is, indeed, a city of wealth and affluence. There are different religious sects practising freely their religion. Peace and prosperity also prevail therein.

In the beginning of the text we find that at the time of Kassapa Buddha[1], a novice (sāmaṇera) of a Buddhist Saṅgha (Order) is rebuked and beaten by a monk for his obstinacy. He makes aspirations for higher knowledge in his successive births till he attains Nibbāna. The monk overhears the wishes of the novice. He, too, makes aspiration in the same way for higher knowledge to enable him to answer the questions that might be put to him by the novice, The novice, in course of his different births, comes to be born in the world of men as a consequence of his meritorious acts and aspirations. Ultimately, he becomes king Milinda of Sāgala. He is wise, a good speaker and learned in all branches of science[2]. He is very fond of debates and used to enter into conversations with others on religious matters. He comes to know that there are at that time six religious teachers[1] who are able to discuss with him on matters of religion. At this he aproaches first to venerable Puraṇa Kassapa and then to Mokkhali Gosāla. But both of them are unable to solve his problems put to them by the king. For about twelve years the king fails to get his problems solved by different teachers. At that time venerable Assagutta perceiving the evil consequences it would produce, assembles the monks and asks whether or not they would be able to remove the doubts of the king. But unable to find a suitable person, he requests Deva Mahāsena, residing in the Tāvatiṁsa heaven[2] who possesses the requisite qualifications, to be born in this world and resolve doubts of the king. Mahāsena, unwilling at first, consents to his request. He is born in a Brahmin family and is named Nāgasena. From the time of his conception, Rohaṇa, a Buddhist monk, used to visit him. In course of time, Nāgasena becomes well-versed in the three Vedas and other branches of knowledge that could be taught. But these learnings can not satisfy him. Rohaṇa observing the mental condition of Nāgasena has initiated him 1013. into the Saṅgha (order). He then teaches him the *Abhidhamma* first. In a very short time Nāgasena becomes proficient in the subject. He is then sent to Pāṭaliputta where venerable Dhammarakkhita used to dwell. Under him he learns other subjects of Buddhism and ultimately attains Arhatship. The numerous Arhats assemble at Rakkhitatala to request Nāgasena to enter into a religious discussions forthwith with king Milinda. Nāgasena readily agrees to that. It should be mentioned here that this Nāgasena happens to be the monk of the Saṅgha (order) of the former days in which king Milinda as a novice was involved in the incident referred to above.

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[1] He is said to be the immediate predecessor of Gautama Buddha of the present world-age, DN ii, pp. 5-7, SN ii, pp. 5-11.

[2] In all nineteen subjects are mentioned. They are : suti (revealed tradition), sammuti (secular lore), sāṅkhya, yoga, nīti (nyaya) and visesika system (of philosophy), gaṇika (accountancy), gandhabba (music), tikicchā (medicine), catuvvedā (the four Vedas), purāṇā (the puranas), itihāsa (the oral tradition)- jotisa (astrology), māyā (conjuring), hetu (logic) mantanā (spells), yuddha (fighting), chandasā (poetry) and muddā (reckoning on the fingers).

About this time the king hears the fame of venerable

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1. They are : Puraṇa Kassapa, Mokkhali Gosāla, Nighaṇṭha Nātaputta, Sañjaya Bellaṭṭhiputta, Ajita Kesakambali and Pakudha Kaccāyana.
2. According to Buddhist notion the realm of Thirty three is the place where good Buddhists are reborn after death in this world, DN ii, p. 209.

Āyupāla and having received permission to visit him, he enquires of him why he has become initiated (pabbajito). Āyupāla replies that he might attain Nibbāna. The king then asks whether Nibbāna is meant for the renunciated peoples only. Āyupāla denies that and says that even an ordinary man could attain Nibbāna. He then cites many examples of those who have reached that exalted state even when they have not gone forth from home to homelessness. The king then says that it is evidently proved the inefficiency of going forth in his reasons. The king further says that he used to put on garments of one colour, has no settled habitation and has deprived himself of sleep which clearly show that in former days, i. e. in his previous births he must have been a robber and is now reaping the consequences of his act. At this Āyupāla fails to answer and remains silent.

Nāgasena at that time has repaired to the Saṅkheyyya Vihāra and the king has been informed of his arrival. No sooner has the king heard the name of Nāgasena than "he was seized with fear, and with anxiety, and the hairs of his body stood on one end"[1]. The king accompanied with five hundred Yonakas comes to the place where Nāgasena is staying and after mutual exchanges of courtesy and compliment the conversations begin.

The second part is called *Lakkhaṇapañha* or the distinguishing marks of moral qualities. It opens with the most important topic of Buddhism — the theory of soul. The king enquires of Nāgasena how he is known and what is his name. This has prompted Nāgasena to deal with the real position between man and individuality. He explains to the king with the simile of a chariot and ends the discussion saying that there is no permanent subject underlying the temporary phenomena visible in a man's individuality. Then the king puts an enigmatic question to Nāgasena as to his seniority in years. Nāgasena fully asserts him with the answer and the king has then been satisfied. Now the king is willing to converse with

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1. Ahud'eva bhayaṁ, ahud'eva chambhitattaṁ, ahud'eva lomahaṁso — Miln. p. 22.

him. Nāgasena tells the king that he can only discuss if he would discuss like a learned man and not as a king. The king being zealous to know the Dhamma, agrees to discuss like a learned man and puts questions one after another. Nāgasena, in turn, expounds them to king's satisfaction with arguments using similes and illustrations. In an instance, Nāgasena answers the king's question that all the members who join the order (saṅgha) would not seek Nibbāna, — the Summum Bonum of life. Some of them join the order for fright of kings, some seek shelter from being robbed, from being harassed for debt and some to gain livelihood[1]. But there are some who really seek admission into the order for the attainment of Nibbāna. Nāgasena then explains the distinction between wisdom (paññā) and reasoning (manasikāro). He further explains that morality (sīla) is the basis of all good qualities[2]. Upon it stands faith (saddhā), wisdom (paññā), perseverance (viriya), mindfulness (sati), concentration (samādhi). Keeping the base of morality and by developing other good qualities (kusala dhammas) a recluse can attain Nibbāna. He expounds in detail with apt similes and illustrations the special features of each of these qualities and shows their power to stop their evil dispositions[3]. The king then places an important metaphysical question : "He who is born, Nāgasena, does he remain the same or become another ?"[4]. Nāgasena elucidates his answer and says, "continuity of a person or thing is maintained"[5], and no separate entity is evolved. When a man is born, he remains neither the same nor the other[6], like a child who becomes a full

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1. Miln. pp. 31-32. The Sāmaññaphalasutta records that for the comprehension of the true essence of the religion or for immediate gain and honour in the saṅgha as bhikkhu many join the saṅgha—DN i. p. 51.
2. Miln. p. 33. The good qualities are : Indriya-bala.bojjhaṅga-magga-satipaṭṭhāna-sammappadhāna-iddhipāda-jhāna-vimokkha-samādhi-samāpatti.
3. Kilese hananti—Miln. p. 39.
4. Bhante Nāgasena, yo uppajjati so eva so udāhu añño ti—Miln. p. 40.
5. Dhammasantati sandahati—Miln. p. 41.
6. Na ca so na ca añño—Ibid.

grown man through different stages of life. "One comes into being another passes away, and the rebirth is, as it were, simultaneous"[1]. The topic is further discussed that if a man knows he would not be born, would he be free from any painful feeling. Nāgasena continues that it is name and form (nāma-rūpa) that are reborn and in that name and form good and evil actions done another is reborn so the other is not free from the former. The 'name' is the subtle mental state[2] and the 'form' is the gross (olārika). Another problem is raised by the king concerning 'time,—its root in the past, future and present, and the ultimate point of time. Another is the question regarding co-efficients (saṅkhārā), its origin and development. With the discussion relating to the existence or non-existence of soul (vedagū) it extends to the region of *Abhidhamma* where Nāgasena expounds in detail as regards thought-perception (citta-viññāna) and mind-perception (mano-viññāna), and lastly, the special characteristics of contact (phassa), sensation (vedanā), idea (saññā), volition (cetanā), consciousness (viññāna), reflection (vitakka) and investigation (vicāra).

The third part *Vimaticchedana* or removal of doubts deals on questions of removal of difficulties and dispelling of doubts in regard to the attainment of ordinated life. Here various questions have been put by the king to Nāgasena but they are not altogether inter-related. Yet all of them are solved by Nāgasena with deftness, illustrated with similes. The king wants to know what causes difference between man and man, and the answer received is action (kamma) which is the main criterion for a man. In reply to another question as to how the ordination is brought about, Nāgasena replies that in order to stop this sorrow and not to arise further is the endeavour of this life concerned with[3]. Regarding the life in purgatory, Nāgasena says that it is the influence of kamma (action) that directs the life in purgatory. Until and unless the evil kamma is exhausted, beings cannot be freed from purgatory. As to what is Nibbāna and who can realise it, Nāgasena treats the former with the cessation[1] that brings about the end of all pains. The latter, however, realises Nibbāna by following the course shown by the Noble One. And even by the hearing of those who have trodded in the path of Nibbāna one can know the blissful state of it. The king then raises an interesting point about the oneness of transmigration and rebirth, and whether any soul or being that transmigrated from this body to another. Further the king asks if the body is not dear to the recluses why then do they cherish it ? Nāgasena answers that it is because without cleaving to it they bear about for the sake of practising religious life. Next the king raises questions regarding the bodily marks of the Buddha, his purity in conduct, about the goodness of ordination (upasampadā). Further, the king enquires of Nāgasena about the distinction between one who is full of passion and one without, and lastly what is it that recollects what has been done in the past. There are also several questions that afflict the king, and Nāgasena, in turn, rightly dispels all doubts of the king. The king is then satisfied and thinks that he has propounded the questions rightly and the replies have been made rightly. Nāgasena, too, thinks that the questions have been properly placed and answers them rightly.

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[1] Añño uppajjati añño nirujjhati, apubbaṁ acarimaṁ viya sandahati.

[2] Sukhumā cittacetasikā dhammā—Miln. p. 49.

[3] Idaṁ dukkhaṁ nirujjheyya aññan'ca dukkhaṁ na uppajjeyyāti etadattha mahārāja amhākāṁ pabbajjā—Miln. pp. 31, 66, 81.

The *Meṇḍakapañha* or the puzzling questions form the subject matter of the fourth part. The enigmas raised by the king concerning contradictory statements which are stated to have been made by the Buddha. There are eighty-two such ambiguous questions put before Nāgasena for definite answers. Nāgasena, in turn, explains each of these puzzling questions and puts them before the king in their right perspectives. These are necessary, as the king thinks, for the proper 'guidance of the intending disciples of the order'. These enigmas are explained with the help of similes and metaphors which can easily be understoood even by a layman.

Before proceeding to the dialogue proper, both Nāgasena and the king explain certain aspects of guiding principles concerning place, person, maturity etc. which are inevitable for the realisation of a discourse of grave learning.

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[1] Nirodho nibbānan'ti—Miln. pp. 68ff.

The king puts to Nāgasena an enigmatic question as to whether any reverence paid to the residues of the Buddha who has passed away carries any benefit to the giver. Nāgasena replies that the Buddha is in the formless state and he does not accept anything either in kind or other (sādiyati). Yet whoever builds a reliquary containing jewel treasure of residue of a Tathāgata although he accepts it not 'still that homage paid to the attainment of the supreme good under the form of the jewel treasure of wisdom' making it an object of support (ārammaṇa) do they attain three blissful state[1]. Another reason is that by offering homage to the residues and to the jewel-treasure of wisdom they achieved merits and by that merits they allay and assuage 'the fever and the torment of the threefold fire[2]. Even the possibility of achieving these blissful states is not removed. Beings tormented by the cycle of births and deaths desire to get rid of this, by following the jewel-treasure of his residues and his doctrine and discipline and teachings. Beings thus followed the above course, are establised themselves like a tree with firm root of merit, trunk of concentration, quintessence of doctrine, branches of morality, flowers of emancipation and fruits of recluseship[3]. Nāgasena explains all these things so that the reverence paid to the Buddha has value and bears fruit even if he has passed away and not consents to such acts.

The second enigma about the omniscient (sabbaññutā) of the Budha that conflicts the king. To make it clear, Nāgasena asserts 'though reflection is necessary condition of the knowledge

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1. Tisso sampatti—dibba-sampatti (bliss of attaining heavenly state), mānusika-sampatti (bliss of human being) and nibbāna-sukha-sampatti (bliss of attaining Nibbāna)—Miln. pp. 96, 410.
2. They are : rāga (lust), dosa (ill-will) and moha (delusion)—Miln. p. 97.
3. Ḍalhakusalamūla-patiṭṭhita, samādhikkhandha-dhammasāra-sīlasākhāparivitthiṇṇa, vimuttipuppha-sāmaññaphaladharā honti—Miln. p. 99.

of Tathāgata' and on reflection grasps whatever he wants.[1] He then goes on analysing the reflecting powers of men who are entangled with three fetters and evil dispositions.[2] And those who develop within themselves all knowledge to the right perspective and the ten-fold powers[3] in the sphere of the Buddha, are able to reflect quickly and act with ease. Whereas the former, on the other hand, having the deficiencies of such qualities fails in their reflecting power. The different kinds of thinking powers are classified by Nāgasena into seven groups and each is explained by him. The seventh class belongs to the Enlightened One, like a highly polished arrow when powerfully discharged penetrates easily to a fine staff. It outclasses other six with its high quality unimaginable by a common man. So the mind of the Buddha is so clear and light-hearted in mental powers that he performs wonders and miracles. It is dependent only on reflection. It is more rapid and more easy in action—more rapid than his reflection.

The next one is about the admission of Devadatta to the order (saṅgha) by the Buddha even after knowing that he would cause faction (saṅgabheda) in the order. Nāgasena in reply says that Devadatta has been admitted into the order (saṅgha) and it is due to energy and wisdom of the Lord when the Blessed One considered his life history. As Devadatta has already accumulated numberless bad deeds and has to suffer incessant kalpas from torment to torment and from pardition to pardition, the Blessed One out of compassion has admitted him into the order (saṅgha) to finite his sorrow and bad deeds. Thus having entered the order (saṅgha) Devadatta is relieved from suffering of his previous karma (action) and also limits

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1. Tathāgatassa āvajjanapaṭibaddhaṁ sabbaññutañānaṃ, āvajjitvā yadicchakaṁ jānātī'ti—Miln. p. 107.
2. Sarāga sadosa samoha sakkilesa—Miln. p. 102.
3. They are: ṭhānāṭhānañāna, nānādhimuttiñāna, nānādhātuñāna, indriyaparāparañāna, sabbatthagāminipatipadāñāna, sabbajjhānavimokkhasamāpattikilesavyavadānavuṭṭhanañāna, pubbanivāsānussatiñāna, cuti-upapattiñāna and āsavakkhayañāna—Mahāvyutpatti (Sakaki), pp. 9-10.

his future actions. If he is not so admitted he would have accumulated more bad actions and suffered for kalpas. The Blessed One makes light the heavy sorrow of Devadatta by administering the medicine of Dhamma (dhammosadhabalena) associated with compassion ; just as a clever physician through the means of strong medicine makes light the grave sickness. Devadatta does cause faction in the order (saṅgha) and has to suffer pain and misery in the purgatory. The Buddha with kindly intent makes end of the future bad actions and pain by admitting him into the order (saṅgha). Just as a clever surgeon relieves the pain of a man with burning the wound and by smearing ointment and cutting with the kinfe and cauterising with the stick and administering caustic lotion, in such a way does the Blessed One relieves Devadatta of his pain and misery to the end by admitting him into the order (saṅgha) through his compassion.

Such is another enigma as to the existence of any demerits of the Buddha, since he has suffered pain due to hurt, due to his feet being pierced by a splinter, due to dysentery, etc. The king's contention is that if the Buddha is free from all demerits, then he must not have felt pain. Certainly there must be some sins with him still because all pains have roots in action. Nāgasena refutes his charge and categorizes feelings with its characteristic marks. According to him, there are eight kinds of feelings and the action is one of them. The pain the Buddha has felt is due to any one of the seven and not by action alone. 'When the Blessed One become Buddha he had burnt out all evil from within him'[1]. The ignorant people believe every pain is the product of action. It is only Buddha's insight which can fix the extent of the action.

Among other enigmas that arise in the mind of the king, one is about the Māra's interference at the receiving of gifts by the Buddha. The king thinks that the Māra must be more powerful than the Buddha. If it is not so then the Buddha would not

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1. Yaṁ kiñci mahārāja karaṇiyaṁ Tathāgatassa sabbaṁ taṁ bodhiyā yeva mūle pariniṭṭhitaṁ – Miln. p. 139.

have returned empty-handed from his round for alms. Nāgasena says it is true that the Blessed One has to return without any alms. But that is not because of the power of obstacle inflicted by the Māra over the people. The obstacles may be caused, according to Nāgasena, to four kinds of gift, viz., to an unintended gift, to a gift for an intended person, to a ready gift and to the use of a gift. In this case, the first one, i.e. an unintended gift has made obstacle by the Māra. That is not against the Buddha in particular. For, there are four qualities inherent in the Buddhas which no one can do any harm. Actually the Māra ambushes himself like robber but does not make any obstacle to the other three above except the first one. For if the Māra does so, his head would have been splitted into thousand pieces.

The king cites an example of harm resulting from the Buddha's preaching when about sixty bhikkhus (monks) have vomitted hot blood. Again it is said by Nāgasena that he does make no harm and does good. Nāgasena continues that it is because of their taking the doctrine wrongly that they have so suffered, but those who follow and grasp the doctrine rightly are saved by the Blessed One. He awakens the beings by the gift of the Good Law (Saddhamma) who understand it rightly.

The king is further perplexed as to why the recitation of the *Pātimokhha*[1] and the *Vinayapiṭaka* should be closed and concealed when they shine forth when they are displayed. Nāgasena argues that this concealment is meant not for general but to a certain limit. The recitation of *Pātimokkha* is limited in three ways. They are :

i) For the customary usage of the previous Tathāgata, just as the noble tradition is kept secret from the common man,

ii) For reverence for the Dhamma which may not fall into degradation, and

iii) For respect of status of the bhikkhus (monks) who are precious and endowed with in the ways of teaching, in the traditions of the Blessed One, in learning, in restraint, in conduct and in control of virtues of morality.

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[1] A set of rules observed by the members of the saṅgha.

In another instance the king is bewildered about the Buddha's kindness. It is said in one of his former births the Buddha has committed a grave offence by slaughtering living creatures whereas he is said of formerly bearing kindness to beings. Nāgasena in reply tells the king that both of these are true. And the fact that the Blessed One in one of his former births slaughtered animals was due to incognizance of mind pervaded with lust[1]. Nāgasena illustrates it by saying that those who will kill living creatures may fall within the purview of one of the following conditions : through lust, anger, stupidity, pride, greed, for livelihood, for joke and lastly for elimination. The Bodhisatta was at that time out of his mind and went mad, was out of command of himself. Thus he committed such an act. So, who is out of mind, his act cannot be considered as an offence and bears any fruit in future life.

The king further says that the Buddha has discouraged any gifts received through inciting. On the other hand, in course of his discourses he gives first priority to gifts. Nāgasena replies that the Blessed One infuses in the hearts of the hearers inclination towards giving gifts and then talks on morality. This does not mean to be wrong. For, according to Nāgasena, intimation (viññatti) is of two kinds—one is bodily and the other is verbal. Further, these two are sub-divided into two, each one is faulty, the other is not and then he gives details of these four classess. The king is then satisfied with the explanation and cleared of his doubts.

The king again requests Nāgasena to enlighten him on the matter regarding Buddha's hesitation of preaching the Truth when be becomes Omniscient. Nāgasena explains that on being enlightened, he sees that that the beings are entangled with sensual pleasures (ālayaramataṁ) and with false notion of individual (sakkāyadiṭṭhi). It is not possible for them to grasp the difficult doctrine. Like a physician on seeing a patient suffering from complicated diseases, thinks over the ways and means by which he can allay the sickness, so the Tathāgata hesitates and ponders over the powers of penetration which beings possessed. But on being revered first by the Brahmā and having instigated by him the Blessed One preaches the doctrine.

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[1] Tañ'ca pana rāgavasena visaññinā, no sacetanenāti—nMil. p. 220.

Then the king puts an interesting question. He says, we find that the Buddha has no teacher, yet it is said that he has learnt many things under the guidance ef Ālāḍa Kālāma. Nāgasena clarifies the matter and says that the Buddha has not only one teacher but many. The Brāhmaṇas[1] who prognosticated at his birth, the future glory, are his first teachers. The brāhmin Sabbamitta is his second teacher. The God who is responsible for his Great Renunciation[2] is the third. This Ālāḍa Kālāma whom you just named is his fourth teacher. And, lastly, Uddaka, the son of Rāma, is his fifth teacher. But all of them are his teachers in wordly wisdom[3] when he is still a Bodhisatta. But the Tathāgata has no teacher in the penetration of wisdom of the omniscient. There he has no teachers, a self-dependent (sayambhu) for his knowledge.

The king is then in a fix as to which is more advantageous in obtaining the Supreme Attainment—as a layman or as a recluse. When it is said that even a householder enjoying the worldly pleasures would attain the Supreme Bliss, there can be no necessity of homelessness—a hard life. Nāgasena replies that there is no difference as to who can reach to that blissful state. It depends on right practising. But the renunciation has its own qualities. It is a world full of gain. It has incalculable advantages, just as immeasurable is the value of wish conferring gem[4] or incalculable is the number of waves in the great ocean. A recluse, free from enjoyment of wordly pleasures, is able to accomplish quickly what has to be done.

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1. They are: Rāmo, Dhajo, Lakkhaṇo. Manti, Yañño, Suyāmo, Subhojo and Sudatta.
2. Nekkhammaṁ nikkhamitvā—Miln. p. 236.
3. Te ca pana ācariyā lokiye dhamme—Ibid.
4. Kāmadadassa maṇiratanassa—Miln. p. 243.

The king then asks Nāgasena why the Arhats feel only bodily pain and not mental pain. Nāgasena explains that there are ten qualities which are abiding in the body in its cycle of existence. The Arhat's mind although dependent on the body, has no control over it. Then the king enquires why common man suffers pain both in the body and in the mind. It is because, replies Nāgasena, that man has no proper control over his mind. And in the case of Arhats, their minds are properly controlled and obedient. When touched by the feelings of pain, 'he grasps firmly the idea of the impermanency of all things'[1] and concentrates his mind steadfastly only to suffer bodily pain. The mind of Arhat is like a trunk of a tree and remains undisturbed by the force of wind.

As regards the query whether an Arhat is free from any fault or not, Nāgasena says that the Arhats can be guilty of offence like the layman. But their faults count not on their thoughtlessness. He explains that there are two kinds of sin—one is the breach of ordinary moral law and the other is the breach of rules of the order (saṅgha). One who is free from evils cannot sin a moral law, but it is possible to transgress the rules of the order (saṅgha) since he cannot know everything in his power.

The king next points out to the matter of enjoining the rules of the order (saṅgha) from time to time instead of setting them at one time. Nāgasena quoted the authority of the All-Knowing regarding this : "If I were to lay down the whole of the hundred and fifty rules at once the people would be filled with fear, those of them were willing to enter into the order (saṅgha) would refrain from doing so, they would not trust my words and through their want of faith they would be liable to rebirth in state of woe. As occasion would arisen, therefore, illustrating it with a religious discourse, would lay down when the evil would become manifest, each rule'[2].

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[1] So dukkhāya vedanāya phuṭṭho samaṇo aniccan'ti ḍalhaṁ gaṇhāti—Miln. p. 254.

[2] Miln. pp. 272-273.

The king further asks Nāgasena whether any gift given in such a way as to bring sorrow upon others would be fruitful. Moreover, the king thinks, Vessantara's giving away his wife and children is an example of excessive gift and any excessive gift is reproved and rebuked by the wise. Nāgasena justifying the act of Vessantara's mighty gift tells the king that by giving gifts even though that might bring sorrow upon others as the Vessantara has done, 'is praised, lauded, exalted, magnified and famous throughout the ten thousand world systems. It would bring forth fruit in happiness and lead rebirths in the state of bliss'.

The next topic of discussion is on dream—its nature and the individual who dreams. Nāgasena explains that dreams are nothing but an impulse (nimitta) and depend on one of the six categories. Out of these six, the dream dreamt as an omen is true and the rest are false. He continues that such circumstances happen in between dozing and unconscious state[1]. The man who sleeps soundly his mind becomes unconscious and having being unconscious his mind can not function, and due to non-functioning of mind he can not know the evil and good action and thus he cannot dream. It is on the functioning of the mind that dreams are dreamt.

The king comes to the last of his enigmatic questions. He now opens his discussion on Nibbāna, the Summum Bonum of life, which ultimately closes the chapter.[2] He raises four such difficult problems on Nibbāna, viz., as to its nature, its form, its time and place, which conflict the mind of the king. Nāgasena clarifies each problem with suitable similes to the satisfaction of the king. According to him, Nibbāna cannot be intermingled with pain. Those who seek after Nibbāna suffer pain while restraining themselves in standing, walking, lying, fooding, sleeping, subjecting their senses, abandoning their very body and their life. And in this way they can realise the fruit of Nibbāna which is pure and blissful. Nibbāna has nothing to show its substitutes. Nor even any similes, argument, cause or method can be pointed out of its existence, i.e., its form, figure, duration or measure. Yet it exists, just as the great ocean here, the sky above. Nāgasena continues, 'though there is nothing as to its form which can be so explained, there is something, O king, as to its quality which can'. It is stainless without any evil dispositions. It alleviates the thirst of craving for lusts (kāmataṇhā), craving for future life (bhavataṇhā). and craving for worldy prosperity (vibhavataṇhā). Nibbāna is the support by which one can put an end to evil dispositions and it is like an ambrosia (amata). It is free from all evil dispositions, it is mighty and boundless. It is a place for dwelling of great men, knowledge and emancipation—all in blossom in it. Life is depended on Nibbāna, through it old age and death can be stopped, psychic powers and beauty of holiness can be increased, through it all weaknesses of sorrows arising from the craving of lusts can be stopped. Nibbāna is not born, grown old, nor die, pass away, arise elsewhere. Nibbāna cannot be conquered, thieves cannot take it off nor it is dependent. It is the place of Arhats. It is unobstructed and infinite. It is hard to obtain, unparalleled in its perfume and eulogised by the Noble Ones. Nibbāna is beautiful and has pleasant perfume in righteousness and has a pleasant taste also. It is very lofty, immovable, inaccessible and ungrowable of all evil dispositions. It is free from approval and aversion (anunayapaṭighavippamutta).

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[1] Okkante middhe asampatte bhavaṅge etth' antare supinaṁ passati—Miln. p. 299.

[2] See discussion on Nibbāna, Ch. VI.

Nāgasena then deals with the time of Nibbāna. Since the king is perplexed by the saying that 'Nibbāna is not past, nor future, nor present, nor produced, nor not-produced, nor producable', Nāgasena has thrown light on the matter. According to him, only he who has followed the instructions rightly, mastered himself in the idea of all things (saṅkhārā) as per teachings, realises through wisdom, the element of Nibbāna (nibbānadhātu) which is peaceful, happy and excellent and which does exist. And Nibbāna is to be known by making oneself free from distress and danger. being in confidence, in peace, in calm, in happiness, in delicacy, in purity and in freshness.

And lastly, as to its position, Nibbāna can never be located —east, south, west, north, above, below, across—nowhere it can be seen. Just as the fire exists but cannot be located, so Nibbāna exists. He who has followed the instructions rightly, realises Nibbāna just as by the rubbing of the two sticks, fire comes out ; yet there is a platform based on morality upon which a man standing and following instructions can rightly attain to the Summum Bonum of life.

The fifth part covers *Anumāṇa*—solutions of problems of Inference. Milinda enquires of Nāgasena about the existence of the Buddha. Nāgasena, in turn, reciprocates it by asking the king the existence of his lineage. The king replies although he has not seen them face to face, yet it can be known of their existence by their royal insignia—their crown, their slipper and their fans and other articles of use—handed down to us. Just so, asserts Nāgasena, the Buddha once lived and can be believed in him by the thirty-seven constituent qualities (bojjhaṅgas) congenial for the attainment of Arhatship delivered by the Buddha to his disciples at his death-bed. The whole world of devas and men can know and believe his existence by these. Nāgasena, further, solidifies his reason by the simile of a city. Just as when a city-architect (nagara-vaḍḍhaki) wants to build a city, he makes choice of the site first, which should be free from danger of attack and lovely all around to look at, but should neither be too low nor too high. That site, moreover, must be free from unevenness and stones and stonechips. After levelling the grounds he will then proceed, according to the plan, to construct the city encircled by wall and narrow ditches, with well-measured quarters, trenches and ramparts, strong gateways, levelled and cleaned. Then the city is provided with well-laid rows of shops, with parks and gardens, lakes and lotus ponds and wells, adorned with various temples dedicated to Gods. And, in course of time, that city might become well-habitated with men and women from different walks of life, a great trade centre visited by people from far and near countries, a society full of glamour and grandeur. People coming to that new city and seeing its beauty and spotless character will surely praise the city architect who has built that city of delight. So the Buddha with his uniqueness has built the City of Righteousness (Dhammanagara). In this City of Righteousness, morality is meant for its encircling walls, consciousness its narrow ditches, knowledge its ramparts over the city gate, energy its watch-towers, *Abhidhamma* is the place where three or four roads met, *Vinaya* is the law-court, the application of mindfulness is its street.

As the flower-bazar of a city is studded with different kinds of flowers, so are the different subjects of meditation (ārammaṇa) which heve been exposed by the Buddha. Through the practices of any one of which one could attain the exalted position and reach the city of Nibbāna and thus emancipates in Arhatship. A man may be anointed with perfume taking from the bazar, the scent of which is followed only along with the motion of the wind. But one who has anointed himself with the morality of taking Refuge[1], of moral habits and of restraint in the recitation of *Pātimokkha*, the fragrance of which pervades all quarters——this is made known by the Buddha. As the mango fruit before it is ripen passed through different stages, viz., immature, unripe, fresh etc. and it may be consumed in its different stages according to the likings of the people, such is the fruit of different stages of attainment as shown by the Buddha. It is on four paths leading to Arhatship[2], concepts of emptiness (suññatā), signless (animitta) and undirected (appaṇihita). Hence it is upon the will of the person to gain the fruit of any of the paths he likes. By the application of drugs one is free from bodily pain and suffering. The Buddha, too, has prescribed drugs by following of which one can become free from evil dispositions. Those who have longing for the highest insight (arhatship) and hear the Four Truths[3] are set free from rebirth, old age, death, grief, lamentation, pain, sorrow and despair. So with the drinking of the sweet doctrine of drugs the poison of evil dispositions disappear. As the medicines cure the ailing, the Buddha has laid down thirty-seven constituent qualities (bodhipakkhiyadhammas)[1] by following of which men purge themselves of wrong views, wrong aspiration, wrong speech, wrong modes of livelihood, wrong endeavour, wrong mindfulness, wrong meditation ; and with the application of emetics he has prescribed through which lusts, malice, confusion, pride, false views, doubts, agitation (uddhacca), sloth and torpor (thinamiddha), consciouslessness and shamelessness (ahirikanottappa) and all the evil dispositions are vomitted out. Those who are besprinkled with the ambrosia of the Buddha have made themselves understand the mindfulness that occupies the body, the true picture of this material body. The jewels as have been apprised of by the Buddha are morality, meditation, wisdom, emancipation, 'the insight which arises from the assurance of emancipation', the analytical insight, and the seven-fold wisdom of the Arhats. In a general way, he who has faith can obtain bliss (sampatti) either in this world or in heaven by following the nine-fold[2] words of the Buddha or paying reverence to the relics or things he used or by erecting sacred mound over them or by taking refuge in the order (saṅgha). He can also attain bliss through practising morality or by observing formal acts (uposatha) or to

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[1] The three Refuges are : Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha.

[2] They are : Sotāpatti, Sakadāgami, Anāgami and Arhat.

[3] These are : Dukkha, (sorrow), Dukkhasamudaya (cause of sorrow),

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Dukkhanirodha (cessation of sorrow) and Dukkhanirodhagāminipaṭipadā (the path leading to the cessation of sorrow).

[1] The thirty-seven qualities are : Four application of mindfulness (cattāro satipaṭṭhānā), Four right efforts (cattāro sammappadhānā), Four bases of psychic powers (cattāro iddhipādā), Five potency of sense organs (pañca indriyabalāni), Seven limbs of enlightement (satta bojjhaṅgā) and Noble Eight-fold path (ariya aṭṭhaṅgikamagga).

[2] Navaṅga Satthusāsana : Sutta (the teachings of the Buddha mostly compiled in prose), Geyya (instructions in mixed prose and verse), Veyyākaraṇa (expositions), Gāthā (verses), Udāna (ecstatic utterances), Itivuttaka (brief sayings), Jātaka (legends of Bodhisatta in his previous births), Abbhuta-dhamma (description of supernatural power) and Vedalla (message in the form of questions and answers).

the lowest and to the highest bliss, i.e., Nibbāna, whatever he can seek everything has been expounded by the Buddha, just as in a general shop all sorts of materials are available. In this City of Righteousness are the habitats of men of different category with different kinds of knowledge in the path of the Buddhas. There are also men who are well-acquainted and well-versed in the *Scriptures*, in the rules and in the ethical qualities of the Dhamma. So, through these reasons, through these arguments, through these inferences, on examining the City of Righteousness, constructed by the Buddha, one can easily contemplate the existence of the Buddha.

The sixth part is concerned with the glorification of the *Dhutāṅgas* or a set of ascetic practices. It opens with an interesting question put by the king to Nāgasena : If there be any layman who used to live in society and enjoy the pleasures of worldly things can attain Nibbāna ? Nāgasena replies in support of it. The king then enquires if it is so, then there is no necessity of training themselves in the set of ascetic practices prescribed. To this Nāgasena tells the king that those who are keeping these practices can lead a pure mode of livelihood, the fruit of which is bliss. It is without blame and possessed in all such twenty-eight good qualities that all the Buddhas cherished for them and kept them dear. Those who follow these practices, now in this life, can be endowed with eighteen good qualities. It is not possible in a single life to realise Arhatship unless otherwise without keeping of the practices and endowed with the qualities of these practices. There is, further, no perception of the truth unless purified with the qualities supported on the set of practices. Ten kinds of persons are fit for these advantages inherent in the practices—a person who has faith; conscience, courage, trustworthiness, who is self-master, undisturbed, ambitious, resolute, not easy to take offence and dweller in loving-kindness. All these Nāgasena expounds in detail illustrating with suitable similes in support of his contention and has shown how these practices lay the foundation for the good growth of the seed of renunciation and for the attainment of Nibbāna or the Supreme Bliss. Those who swim into the sea of desires but at the same time run after the good qualities of these practices should bring unto themselves a two-fold punishment. First, he has to suffer loss the benefit he has gained so long and to lead a disdainful and ignominous life. And in the second, he has to suffer torment in his next life in the purgatory. On the other hand, those who are fit for the practices receive two-fold honour—he is counted as a near and dear one to Gods and men, and the whole religion of the recluses becomes his very own. So far making these explanations to the king about the good qualities, he then proceeds with the classification of person who is fit or unfit for these practices, using the most common and coherent similes. Afterwards he explains these practices which ultimately lead to Nibbāna, the Supreme Bliss and bathe in it by the man who practised. This set of practices comprised of thirteen in number. They are: refuge-rag wearer (paṁsukulika), triple-robe wearer (tecīvarika), alms-food eater (piṇḍapātika), house to house begging (sapadānacārika), once a day and at one sitting eater (ekāsanika), eating from one vessel only (pattapiṇḍika), refusing food in excess of the regulations (khalupacchābhattika), forest dweller (āraññika), tree-root dweller (rukkhamūlika), open-air dweller (abbhokāsika), cemetery dweller (sosāṇika), unalterable bed-user (yathāsanthatika) and sleeping without lying down (nesajjika). He further illustrates this with the example of the elder Upasena, son of Vaṅganta, who has practised all of these practices and thus he is abounded with purifying merits, and is delighted by the Buddha at his conduct. Those who have fulfilled these thirteen practices are endowed with the abiding in the realm of Nibbāna, the Supreme Bliss. According to Nāgasen, Sāriputta having followed these thirteen practices has acquired the exalted virtues in this life and who, after the Buddha, 'set rolling on the royal chariot-wheel of the kingdom of Righteousness in the religion of Gotama, the Blessed One'.

The seventh part and the concluding one relating to the qualities a bhikkhu (monk) should possess in order to attain Arhatship, is known as *Opammakathāpañha* or similes. In answering to the king's question, Nāgasena details one hundred and eight qualities that are abided in an Arhat. But unfortunately we have dissertations of only sixty-seven qualities and the rest, i.e., thirty-eight are lost. According to Nāgasena a bhikkhu (monk) must possess these qualities to enable him to attain Arhatship. Then Nāgasena goes on detailing each and every quality with the help of metaphors and similes. So long Nāgasena is explaining, the king silently and reverentially pays attention to them. At the end of the dispositions, the whole earth trembled six times, lightnings flashed and flowers were downpoured from heaven. The king is fully convinced and satisfied, is bereft of his doubts and suspicions, is cleared off of his puzzles and heresies, and is being brought from darkness of ignorance to the light of the Path. He then goes forth from home to homelessness[1] and takes refuge in the Three Jewels.[2] The king makes a Vihāra which is called 'Milinda Vihāra' and dedicates it to Nāgasena. He afterwards gains wisdom and insight, and attains Arhatship.

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[1] Agārasmā anagāriyaṁ pabbajjitvā—Miln. p. 420.

[2] Tini Ratanāni i e. of Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha.

# CHAPTER IV

## Political :

Here is an attempt made to give a system of administration prevalent in the then India on the basis of the materials embodied in the text.

King and kingship is an essential factor for the protection of the people[1]. Kingship is generally hereditary[2]. He should be a Khattiya and be pure in birth from the maternal and paternal lineage[3]. He is the sovereign authority[4], wields power and proclaims laws and regulations[5]. He is surrounded by thirty-eight divisions of royal entourages[6], actors and dancers, soothsayers[7], utterers of blessings[8], brāhmaṇas and recluses and followers of heretical sects (sabbapāsaṇḍaganā). His treasury is full with gold and silver[9]. His granaries are full with commodities[10]. Next to king comes the crown prince who may be his relative as we see in the text[11]. King Milinda hands over the kingdom to his son and goes forth from home to homeless life. A prince is supposed to study various kinds of knowledge and art of warfare[12]. He is also to be educated in writing and reckoning on fingers[1], the duties on polity (khattamanta-kiriyā), holy tradition (suti) and art of enjoying (muti)[2]. Like the prince, Purohita or the king's adviser in matters of religious as well as secular, secures an important place in the king's assembly. "In many respects, in importance and influence, the house-priest of the king, the Purohita, occupies an extremely pecular position in the Court"[3]. He is also responsible for imparting education to the princes[4]. As a matter of fact, he is counted as one of the most important officers of administration among the six ministers of the king[5]. He is held in confidence by the king[6].

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[1] Miln. p. 356.

[2] Ibid. p. 227.

[3] Ibid. p. 359—abhijātakulakulinassa.

[4] Ibid. p. 226.

[5] Ibid. p. 227.

[6] Ibid. p. 359—The description of such divisions are not mentioned in the text. Moreover, the numbers of such divisions of Rājapurisā are found only in this text. Cf. IBH ii, p. 220, n. 2.

[7] Ibid. Mukhamaṅgalikā and Sotthivācakā—these words only found here outside the canonical literature ; cf. QKM ii, p. 255 footnotes and also IBH ii, p. 220, notes 3 and 4.

[8] See supra note 6.

[9] Miln. p. 37.

[10] Ibid. p. 66.

[11] Ibid p. 420.

[12] Ibid. p. 164.

The mantrī-parisad is an organised council of ministers regarded as an important limb of the government[7]. They are chiefly responsible for and concerned with the political affairs as well as economical welfare of the realm. In case of an expedition or of subduing a revolt in the border district, the ministers and other officers accompany the king[8]. Incidentally, we have reference of six important ministers viz., commander-in-chief, judge, store-keeper, bearer of royal umbrella, bearer of sword and priest, who are reckoned as chief among the numerous ministers[9]. They all have prerogative powers[10]. The duty of the imperial treasurer is to inspect the storehouse and property of the king[11] and to remind the king of his treasures twice daily—in the morning and in the evening—about the

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1. These two—'lekha' and muddā'—are considered as 'high crafts', cf. Vin. IV. 7, also Translation, ii, pp, 176ff.
2. Miln. p. 178.
3. Fick, p. 164.
4. Miln. p. 164.
5. Ibid. p. 114.
6. Ibid. p. 343.
7. Ibid. p. 359.
8. Ibid. p. 314.
9. Yathā vā pana mahārāja rañño sataṁ pi dvisataṁ pi amaccā honti, tesaṁ cha janā amaccagaṇanāya gaṇiyanti, seyyathidaṁ : senāpati purohito akkhadasso bhaṇḍāgāriko chattagāhako khaggagāhako, ete yeva amaccagaṇanāya gaṇiyanti, kiṅkāraṇā : yuttattā rājaguṇehi, avasesā agaṇitā, sabbe amaccā t'eva saṅkhaṁ gacchanti—Miln.p.114.
10. Miln. pp. 114, 146.
11. Ibid. p. 61.

position of the fourfold army, the monetary condition, gold and silver etc[1]. The adviser (pariṇāyaka) being one of the jewels of an imperial sovereign acts as an instructor and helper of good and evil to the king[2].

Apart from those mentioned above, there are peoples around the king who represent a class wider than the ministers[3], for they also are included in the lower class of officers. They are: body-guard (anikaṭṭha)[4], courtiers (pārisajja)[4], hirelings (bhaṭa)[4] soldiers or palace-guards (balattha)[4] drivers of king's chariot (sārathi)[5], lighters of the city (nagara-jotikā)[6], tax-collectors (saṅkusāyikā)[7], town-wardens or superintendents of the city police (negaraguttikā)[8] and door-keepers (dovārikā)[9].

The state exchequer is filled by taxes(bali)[10]. The commercial activities also contribute to the state fund[11]. Sometimes the king exempts certain officials from paying taxes[12] and gifts[13]. Fines and forfeitures[14] are also the sources of royal income. The tax is collected from the centre (saṅkaṭṭhāna) by the tax-collector (saṅkusāyika)[1]. As to the judicial nature[2], we find from the text that the judges are impartial in their judgements. They do not accept bribe. They follow the existing laws in their letter and spirit. There are, probably, institutions imparting training in laws as the word 'dhammāpaṇika', literally meaning shop-owner of Dhamma, suggests[3]. The code of law (niyāma) has been established by the kings—"whosoever takes life shall be subject to a fine, and whosoever takes to himself what has not been given and whosoever commits adultery (paradāra) and whosoever speaks lies, and whosoever is a dacoit (gāmaghātaka) and whosoever is a highway robber (panthadūsaka) and whosoever cheaters and swindlers (nekatikāvañcanikā), such men shall be liable to be fined, or beaten or mutilated or broken or executed"[4]. There are highly qualified lawyers holding the distinguished positions (vissuto-dhammiko)[5]. There also exists a code of laws and in time of necessity the king calls forth the book[6]. The civil lawsuits are not infrequent as provided by the Milinda parable[7] where an owner of the field (khattasāmiko) litigates against another who has burnt his field. The term used for lawsuit is 'vohāro'[8]. Theft and robbery seem to have been the most ordinary cases that are brought to the court for adjudication ; but other cases are also not less in number. Various kinds of offences have been mentioned in the text amongst which robbery, adultery, murder are the chief. Thief, plunderer of village (gāmaghātaka), highway robbers (panthadūsaka) are common in those days[9].

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[1] Miln. p. 37.

[2] Ibid. p. 38—The last of the seven treasures or jewels of a wheel-turning (cakkavatti) king. Other six are : wheel (cakka), elephant (hatthi), horse (assa), gem (maṇi), woman (itthi) and treasurer (gahapati)—DN i, p. 89 ; ii, pp. 172ff, MN iii, pp. 175ff etc.

[3] They are mentioned as a class along with khattiyas, brāhmaṇas and gahapatis in the Vināya (Pat. Nis. 10.2.1) and appear to be synonymous with the 'rājañño' (Assalāyanasutta). Oldenberg says 'one who received livelihood and money'—ye keci rañño bhattavetanāhāro.

[4] Miln. pp. 234, 240, 264

[5] Ibid. p. 365

[6] Ibid. p. 343.

[7] Ibid. p. 365.

[8] Ibid. p. 345—He is the 'king at night' and was responsible for the safety and discipline in the city, Fick, p. 158.

[9] Ibid. pp. 234, 240, 264—The lowest in the rank of the courtiers Apart from palace-gatekeepers, the city gatekeepers' duty was to close the gates at night, Fick. p. 155ff.

[10] Miln. p. 146.

[11] Ibid. p. 359.

[12] Ibid. p. 146.

[13] Ibid. p. 155.

[14] Ibid. pp. 171, 193.

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[1] Miln. pp. 359, 365.

[2] Ibid. p. 343.

[3] Ibid. p. 345.

[4] Ibid. p. 293.

[5] Ibid. p. 345.

[6] Ibid. pp. 78, 80—Potthaka or Potthakanivandana.

[7] Ibid. p. 47.

[8] Ibid. p. 171—Visuṁ vohāraṁ ācaranto, 'breach of law' according to Rhys Davids, QKM i, p. 239.

[9] Ibid. p. 20—Different kinds of 'coras' in the Buddhist literature have been discussed by B. C. Law in his book India as described etc , pp. 172ff.

They plunder villages, hide in the border districts and beset the roads[1]. The text further refers to severe and fearful kinds of punishment and torture which 'invested with a vivid realism[2]. It indicates twenty-seven kinds of punishment and torture which are inflicted on guilty persons resulting in imprisonment, mutilation and death penalty. There is also a curious reference in the text that influenced (laddhavara) persons can override the king's order and save a person from death sentence. In an instance where a culprit has been ordered to be beheaded by the king, has actually been spared of his life by a man of influence.[3]

As regards defence, the text has ample references to the art of warfare and training of elephant, horse, chariot, bow and sword[4]. The fourfold army[5] is maintained and kept ready. The elephant has an honourable place in the army for its physical strength and ability to lead the attacks. The next contingent of the army is the cavalry. The king possesses such thorough-bred horses with a swiftness of the speed of the wind and can roam the earth to its ocean boundary and back in a moment[6]. Excellent horses are yoked to the chariot and it is provided with the accomplished charioteers[7]. Chariot forms the third line of attack. The text provides us with the description of various parts consisting of a chariot[8]. It is made of pole (īsa), axle (akkho), wheel (cakka), frame-work (rathapañjara), flag-staff (rathadaṇḍa), yoke (yūga), reins (rasmi) and goad (patadalaṭṭhi). The last and the bulk portion of the fourfold army is the infantry division. It is composed of bowmen, swordsmen etc. and both regular and hired soldiers (bhaṭa)

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1. Miln. p. 157.
2. Ibid. pp. 197, 290, 357ff.
3. Ibid p. 110.
4. Ibid p. 66.
5. Caturaṅgini senā—comprised of elephant, cavalry, chariot and infantry—gaja-haya-ratha-patti, Miln. pp. 4. 35, 38, etc.
6. Miln. p. 141.
7. Ibid. pp. 66, 81, 358.
8. Ibid. p. 27.

serve in this division. The foot soldiers carry various kinds of weapon—noticeable among them are sword (satthi, khagga, asi), javelin (kaṇḍa), spear (kanaya), bow (dhanu), arrow (sara, salla), dart (nārāca), club (muggara), cudgel (laguḷa), cross-bow (kodaṇḍa), sabre (mandalagga) and big knife (churikā). They are also guarded with shields (phalakā) for warding off the weapons[1]. Incidentally, the text also gives a vivid picture of training in archery[2]. It is said that a master of craft (sippavā) teaches his pupil archery at the training ground (upāsana-sālā), such as, the manner of holding the bow up, of keeping it in a firm grasp, of bending the fingers, of planting the feet, of taking up the arrow, of placing it on the string, of drawing it back, of restraining it, of aiming at the mark and thus hitting a man made of straw, or of masses of clay or of shields (phalakā) and thus becomes an accomplished archer.

**Social :**

The social conditions as depicted in the text 'testify the genuineness of the data on popular life we find therein', although stray and scanty but positive datas are available. The then Indian society composed of four social grades called varṇas (colours). They are Khattiya, Brāhmana, Vessa and Sudda[3]. The Khattiyas belong to the warrior class and to the administrative spheres. The Brāhmanas are primarily engaged in priesthood and teaching profession. The Vessas form the third rank of the society and are chiefly connected with trade and commerce, agriculture and farming[4]. The Suddas belong to the lowest rank of the social order who are hirelings (bhaṭa), wage-earners, etc.[5]. Over and above the four castes, there are others whose social gravitation is always keeping to the low.

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1. Miln. p. 356.
2. Ibid. pp. 352, 418.
3. Ibid. pp. 2, 173, 331.
4. Ibid. p. 178.
5. Ibid. pp. 234, 240, 264 etc. ; also Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p.28.

The list of crafts and professions as enumerated in the text[1] clearly show that the corpse-bearer (chavaḍāhaka) is no other than Caṇḍāla and that of flower-scavenger (pupphachaḍḍaka) is Pukkasa by caste. The profession of hunting and fishing carried out by the Nesāda class. Further, the Veṇas or the bamboo-plaiters are one of the despised classes, who, according to Rhys Davids, live on traditional craftsmanship[2]. Apart from those mentioned above, the chariot-maker (rathakāra), leather-worker (cammakāra), potter (kumbhakāra), weaver (pesakāra, tantavāya), barber (kappaka) etc. all belong to the lower estimation of the then social rank[3]. There is another class whose social status is above that of hired labourers[4]. They are slaves—both male and female—who always stand before hirelings and artisans[5]. According to the *Milindapañha*, rooms in a well-laid city have to be made for the residence of the various classes of people including slaves[6]. The buying and selling of slaves by the rich people is not infrequent[7].

Apart from those mentioned above, there are foreign races thoroughly Indianised and who have subjugated themselves completely to the language, religion and culture of the then society[8]. The names of Sabbamitta, Devamantiya, Anantakāya and Maṅkura[9] and their leanings to the indigenous religion have been clearly reflected in the text[10].

The Seṭṭhi, literary meaning 'the best', is a term usually applied in those days to merchants and bankers who used to

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1. Miln. p. 331.
2. Dial. i, p. 100.
3. An elaborate enumeration of despised classes, their crafts and callings are given in the Sutta Vibhaṅga, Pācittiya section of the Vinayapiṭaka.
4. Mrs. Rhys Davids, Social Conditions etc. in J. R. A. S., 1901, p. 862.
5. Miln. pp. 147, 331.
6. Ibid. p. 331.
7. Ibid. p. 128.
8. Ibid. p. 420.
9. Ibid. p. 29.
10. Ibid. p. 31.

lead band of tradesmen[1]. Their rank and revenue have made them distinct not only in the society but also honoured by the kings as distinguished members of the assembly[2].

The living standard of the then people, more particularly of the upper and richer class, is very high. They are accustomed to and habituated with fine clothes, ornaments, wreathes, flowers, perfumes, unguents etc.[3]. The art of perfumery, no doubt, has attained its perfection and it is associated with the luxury of the richer class. It is said that great care and attention is bestowed on hair dressing and hair-cutting. It mentions sixteen different ways in which people used to keep their hair dressed[4]. These are : ornamenting, docking out, smearing oil upon it, shampooing, garlanding, using scents and unguents, using myrobalam seeds, dyeing, ribboning, combing, calling the barber, disentangling curls[5]. The society is, further, not free from such bad men as cheaters and swindlers (nekatikā, vañcanikā)[6]. There are also dishonest dealings run rampant in the market with false scales, measures and weights. Tulakuṭa-Mānakuṭa are in the list of disapproved gifts[7].

The text also reveals another side of the society with Gaṇikā, Lāsikā, Kumbhadāsi who live on prostitution[8] and are treated probably as 'ornament of a city' (nagaramaṇḍana)[9]. The kings and richer people enjoy voluptuous life. The royal palace is also filled with concubines (oradhagaṇā)[10].

In the list of craft as enumerated in the text, we have a picture of various sports and games which require physical skill and stamina as well as intensive training, which are a common feature of the daily life. It casts off dull and monotonous way of life of the people and makes them feel the taste of life of pleasure through various amusements. There are wrestlers (mallā), acrobats (laṅghakā) jugglers (aṭonā), contortionists (pabbatā), sword-swallowers (asipāsā) etc.[1] whose feats attract the mass who enjoy their leisure hours. Along with these all actors and dancers (naṭakā-nacchakā) who by their performances bring joy and delight to the people. The Rūpadakkha of the text[2] is no doubt the dramatic performer.[3] Music is also used to play an important part in the liturgy. The Viṇā is a typical instrument and the different parts of it have been described[4]. Other kinds of instruments that are common consist of flute (vaṁsa)[5], conch (saṅkha)[6], cymbals (samma)[7], drum (bheri)[8], and horn (siṅgā)[9].

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[1] Miln. p. 17.

[2] Ibid. p. 234.

[3] Ibid. pp. 243, 338, 348.

[4] Ibid. p. 11.

[5] Alaṁkāra-maṇḍana-telamaṇḍana-dhovana-mālā-gandha-vāsana-haritaka-āmalaka-raṅga-bandhana-koccha-kappaka-vijaṭana.

[6] Miln. p. 70.

[7] Ibid. p. 279.

[8] Ibid. p. 331.

[9] Dr. Sternbach Ludwik, Veśyā-Synonyms and Aphorisms, Bharatiya Vidya, Vol. V. 1945, p. 115.

[10] Miln. p. 419.

The city in which the royal residence is situated, is fortified against enemy attacks[10]. It is surrounded by a wall (pākāra) with moat (parikhā) dug around it, provided with four gates (gopura) and on it are built watch-towers (aṭṭālaka). Indeed, the description of the city of Sāgala speaks for prosperous Indian cities in those days[11]. As regards the dwelling place where people are used to live, timber has largely been used for construction of such houses in the Gangetic plain. The text clearly states that in the eastern provinces (puratthimesu) houses are built of combustible materials and are easily damaged by fire. Hence, people are used to keep five vessels of water ready at hand to put out the fire[1]. Thus in all probability the houses in the western countries are made of non-combustion materials[2].

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[1] Miln. pp. 191, 331.

[2] Ibid. p. 344.

[3] Louis Renou, The Civilisation of Ancient India, p. 160 thinks it to be the Lupadakha of the Jogimārā Cave Inscription. On the other hand, I. B. Horner, Milinda's Questions, ii, p. 195, n. 3, takes it probably to mean 'a bargaining aspect of 'change' given in respect of offences committed and removed, by confession, making amends and so on' in the paragraph where the word is used in connection with the explanation regarding Vinaya rules and regulations.

[4] Miln. p. 53.

[5] Ibid. p. 31.

[6] Ibid. p. 60.

[7] Ibid. p. 98.

[8] Ibid. p. 31.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid. p. 66.

[11] Ibid. pp. 1ff.

The bankrupt (naṭṭāyika)[3] or a borrower[4] in those days either pledges son against debt or sells or makes public statement of his liabilities and assets in order to get rid of further harassment at the hands of the lender.

We also learn from the text that some sort of written code of laws are in vogue with reference to Dhammāpaṇika (dealers in Dhamma)[5] and Dhammaseṭṭhino (bankers of Dhamma)[5] of the text. In an instance, we come to know that the ownership of land devolved into a legal title by clearing the forest tract[6].

## Education :

The system of education and curriculum of studies as revealed in the text clearly illustrate the principal features of both Brahmanical and Buddhist education as are practised in those days[7]. Its range and scope provided the people not only with measures to acquire knowledge in material spheres but also in the spiritual world. It is curious to note here that the Brahman scholiasts seek Buddhist philosophy only to add to their intellectual thoughts without showing any hostile attitude towards them[8]. In this text only, outside the canonical and non-canonical texts, we find enumeration of different subjects of study (satthāni) numbering nineteen in all[9]. These are

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1. Miln. pp. 42ff.
2. Ibid. pp. 43, 47, 224. Since the conversation between Nāgasena and the king Milinda was held in the north-eastern part of India.
3. Ibid. p. 131.
4. Ibid. p. 279.
5. Ibid. p. 345.
6. Ibid. p. 219.
7. Ibid. pp. 9-13.
8. R. K. Mookerji, Ancient Indian Education, pp. 474ff.
9. Miln. pp. 3-4.

generally then divided into two sections, viz., sikkhā—learnings, or the three Vedas and sippāni—arts, subjects other than the Vedas[1]. The subjects are: holy tradition, secular lore, the Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Nyāya and Vaisesika systems of philosophy, accountancy, music, medicine, the four Vedas, the Purāṇas, the oral tradition, astronomy, conjuring, logic, spells, fighting, poetry and reckoning on the fingers[2]. According to Dr. B. C. Law[3], the Sāṅkhya and Yoga come to be included first as separate systems of philosophy in the nineteen branches of study. The number may, further, be reducible to eighteen if Suti be amalgamated with the four Vedas[4]. Apart from these, we have further reference of Buddhist literature comprising seven *Abhidhamma* books[5], *Suttantas* and *Vinaya*[6]. Thus, it is apparent, that both the Brahmanical and Buddhist culture were progressing on common lines[7]. The Brāhmans, in addition to usual learnings, are supposed to acquire knowledge, though not always, in such popular arts and sciences as astronomy, astrology, demonology, quackery, etc. in order to earn their livelihood[8]. Some of these arts and sciences have been condemned in the Buddhist literature while others are esteemed as high crafts[9]. These are: itihāsa (legends), purāṇa, nighaṇḍu (lexicography), keṭubha (prosody), akkharappabheda (phonology), padaṁ (verse), veyyākaraṇa (grammar), bhāsamaggaṃ (etymology), uppāda (prognostication), supinaṁ (interpretation of dream), nimitta (sign), study of six vedaṅgas (chalaṅgas), of eclipses of sun and moon, sukka-rāhu-caritaṁ (prognostication of an eclipse of a planet), uluggaha-yuddha (occultation of heavenly bodies), devadundubhissara (thunderings of rain god), okkanti ukkāpāta (the appearance of falling meteors), bhumikampa (earthquakes), disādāha (conflagration), bhummantaṁ-likkhaṁ (science in the heaven and on the earth), jotisa (astronomy), lokāyatikaṁ (casuistry) and interpretations of omens to be drawn from dogs (sācakka), deer and rats and mixed portents (missakacakka), and the sounds and cries of birds (sakuṇa-rutaravita).

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[1] Miln. p. 10.

[2] Suti, sammuti, sāṅkhya, yoga, nīti, visesika, gaṇika, gandhabba, tikicchā, catuvvedā, purāṇā, Itihāsa, jotisa, māyā, hetu, mantanā, yuddhā, chandasā, muddā vacanena ekūnavisati.

[3] India as described etc, p. 256.

[4] Ibid. p. 299.

[5] Dhammasaṅgani, Vibhaṅga, Kathāvatthu, Puggalapaññatti, Dhātukathā, Yamaka and Paṭṭhāna.

[6] Miln. p. 12,

[7] R. K. Mookerji, Ancient Indian Education, p. 474.

[8] Miln. p. 178.

[9] Vin. ii, p. 139; DN i, pp. 9ff.

The princes in those days have to acquire proficiency in the art of warfare and other subjects concerning statecraft and various kinds of lore[1]. The text also refers to the analytical study of knowledge[2]. It is comprised of comparing derivation with derivation (nirutti), word with word (pada), particle with particle (anupada), letter with letter (akkhara), union of letter with letter (sandhi), consonant with consonant (vyāñjana), next following consonant with next following consonant (anuvyāñjana), sound with sound (vaṇṇa), vowel with vowel (sara), rule with rule (paññatti) and idiom with idiom (vohāra). There are further professional writing-masters (lekhācariyā) who exhibit their skill in writing together with an explanation being appended in such letters their experiences and knowledge[3]. There are written codes of administrative laws and whenever necessary the king may call forth the same[4].

The text also provides us with two types of teachers, one for inculcating instructions in sacred lore—humanities and religious, and the other the masters of crafts (ācariyānaṁ sippavantānaṁ). They are used to teach students in their homes against payment of fees. Their fees are not trifling as indicated in the text[5]. Sometimes the students have to perform domestic duties (vattapaṭivatti) of their teachers in lieu of paying fees and receive instructions from their teacher[6]. The duties of a student, as the text indicates, are to bow down and stand up in the presence of their teacher, draw water, sweep the house, provide tooth-pick and make washing-water ready for the teacher. They have, further, to do service in shampooing (messaging), bathing and washing the feet of the teacher. They have to live upon scraps left over of distasteful food and sleep in discomfort[1]. They have also to suppress their own will and act according to the will of others. Those who are willing to become specialised in craft (sippavā) and earn their livelihood go to a teacher who is proficient in crafts[2]. Practical training in surgery[3] and archery[4] has been mentioned in the text as well.

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[1] Miln. pp. 164, 178.

[2] Ibid. p. 340.

[3] Ibid. pp. 42, 349.

[4] Ibid. p. 80.

[5] Ibid. p. 10—Ācariyabhāga sahassaṁ.

[6] Ibid. p. 353.

Incidentally, the text also enumerates qualifications of a teacher, numbering twenty-five in all, who is fit to impart learning to students[5]. They are: the teacher should keep guard over his pupil constantly and continuously. He should let the pupil know about the cultivables and avoidables, earnestness and trifleness. He should instruct him as to sleep, health and food acceptable and rejectable, the discrimination as to food and share food with other pupils. He should also encourage the pupil about his gain. He should keep his pupil informed about visiting a man, a village or a monastery. He should, further, not indulge in foolish talk with the pupil. He should pardon his pupil's fault. He should be zealous and impartial in imparting learning. He must answer the questions raised by his pupil without maintaining any secret or hiding. He should look upon the pupil as his son and desert him not in distress, neglect him not in his deeds, and mend the pupil in his wrong-doings. He should strive for the growth of pupil's mind and for the development of mighty knowledge in pupil's thoughts[6].

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1. Miln. p. 315 ; cf. Mv. i, 32. 1.
2. Ibid. pp. 216, 356.
3. Ibid. p. 353.
4. Ibid. pp. 352, 418.
5. Ibid. p. 94. In the Mv. i, p. 36 it has been dealt with exhaustively.
6. Ibid. pp. 91, 94.

The text also mentions ten good qualities a lay disciple (upāsaka) should possess so that he can develop the insight (buddhi) in association with the teacher and frequent questionings and various duties prescribed for them[1]. The are : the lay disciple (upāsaka) should feel joy and sorrow with the order (saṅgha). Dhamma (doctrine) should be his master. He should be delighted in giving according to his means. He should exert himself for the revival of the Dhamma which is facing decay. He should hold right views and give up celebrations or feasts. He should not go to another teacher for livelihood. He should guard himself in thought and deed, and delight in peace and be delighted by others. He should feel no jealousy and not enter into the order (saṅgha) with any pretension[2]. He should take refuge in the Trinity[3]. They are, further, required to know nine divisions of the sacred Buddhist scriptures (navāṅgasatthusāsana)[4].

Thus, we find the monastic education has close relation between the teacher and the taught not only in pursuing spiritual progress but also in maintaining 'the general rules and regulations governing the common life in monastery to which all members are subject to irrespective of their status and standing'[5]. The monastic life is 'lonely and free from crowds'[6], 'a hiding place' and 'clean and pure'[7] and congenial to the development of lofty thoughts[8].

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[1] Miln. pp. 93, 315, 366ff., 408.

[2] We learn from the Sāmaññaphalasutta of the Dīghanikāya that many men joined the saṅgha (order) either for the comprehension of the true essence of the religion or for immediate gain and honour in the saṅgha (order) as ordained monks.

[3] That is of Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha.

[4] Miln. p. 263—They are : sutta, geyya, veyyākaraṇa, gāthā. udāna, itivuttaka, jātaka, abbhutadhamma and vedalla.

[5] R. K. Mookerji, Ancient Indian Education, p. 408.

[6] Vivittaṁ janasambādharahitaṁ—Miln. p. 409.

[7] Santam parisuddhaṁ—Ibid.

[8] Miln. pp. 408ff ; also cf. Mrs. Rhys Davids, Buddhism—A study of the Buddhist Norm, pp. 205ff.

## Economic :

It is hardly possible for us to present a systematic account of the economic life of the time because of the dearth of materials in the text.

Rural economy of India then is based chiefly on village communities or land owners or what is known as peasant proprietorship[1]. Agriculture is, no doubt, a common occupation of the villagers. The village forms a compact self-centred unit with reference to its village gates[2]. The khetta or pastures and its woodlands or uncleared jungle lay around the village. The text refers that ploughing is being done at the right time yielding plenty of corns[3]. The khettas are provided with sluices (mātikā) and embankments (mariyādā) for the proper ingress and egress of water in the field[4]. Fencing is done in order to save the corns[5].

Rice (sāli) is the staple food and acknowledged as the best[6]. It is naturally the predominant harvest. We come across some varieties of rice mentioned in the text. The Kurumbhaka is a sort of pedigree rice fit for king's fore[7] and the Kumudabhaṇḍika which is grown in Aparānta[8] in one month suits the common people[9]. Among the commoner and coarser variety is the millet (kaṅgu)[10]. Sāli quality of rice is produced in winter and that of Vihi is reckoned in the rainy season[11]. Among other grains mentioned in the text[12] are : barley (yava), rye (kudrusa), beans (varaka), wheat (godhuma), kidney beans

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[1] Mrs. Rhys Davids, Economic Conditions according to Early Buddhist Literature, CHI Vol. I, p. 176.

[2] Miln. p. 365.

[3] Ibid. p. 307.

[4] Ibid. p. 416.

[5] Ibid. pp. 263, 360.

[6] Ibid. pp. 182ff.

[7] Ibid. pp. 252, 292.

[8] A territory in western India.

[9] Miln. p. 292.

[10] Ibid. p. 267.

[11] Agriculture in Ancient India, ICAR, New Delhi, 1964, p. 16.

[12] Miln. p. 267.

(mugga), radialus (māsa), seasamum (tila) and vetch (kulattha)[1]. Among the spices, mention may be made of ginger (siṅgivera), cumming seed (jiraka) and black-pepper (marica)[2]. Sugarcane (ucchu) seems to have been the common crop. The sugarcane press machine (yanta) is also used as mentioned in the text[3]. Vegetables like gourd (lāpulatā) are grown in plenty[4].

Six kinds of fibre-yielding plants have been mentioned[5]. They are : linen (khomaṁ), silk (koseyyaṁ), cotton (kappāsa), hemp (sānaṁ), canvas (bhaṅgaṁ) and wool (kambalaṁ). Cotton clothes are, no doubt, the common dress. Fine clothes are also made out of linen, silk or wool[6]. There is mention of a woollen blanket worth of a hundred thousand pieces[7]. The woollen blanket is said to be of eighteen cubits in length and eight cubits in breadth[8]. Cloths are dyed (piñjitaṁ), combed (luñcitaṁ), beaten (poṭhitaṁ), cut out (kantitaṁ) and woven (vāyitaṁ)[9].

Besides two regular monsoons, i.e., one of late summer and the other of early winter, the text also mentions a third one (pāvussaka)[10]. The three monsoons, of course, do not uniformly visit every part of the country each year, whether a locality grows one or two or three crops depend on rainfall, climatic conditions and character of the soil[11]. However, three harvests within a year are not unknown. As we see that Kiṭagiri which was situated within Kāsi area[12] was "a very fertile tract with abundance of rainfall enabling it yield three harvests of good grains (every year)"[1]. Flood is not unknown and the scarcity of food or failure of crops caused by hailstorm (karakavassa,[2]. Grains are eaten up by worms (kimi)[3] or lost for scarcity of water[3].

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[1] Miln. p.268. Generally seven kinds of grains (dhañña) are mentioned in the canonical literature, as in Nid. i, p. 248 ; ii, p. 314, but our text adds one more to that of kulattha ; cf. IBH ii, p. 85, n. 19.

[2] Ibid. p. 63.

[3] Ibid. p. 166.

[4] Ibid. p. 374.

[5] Ibid. p. 267.

[6] Ibid. p. 105.

[7] Ibid, p. 88—Kahāpaṇa is to be understood.

[8] Ibid. p. 17.

[9] Ibid. p. 240. I. B. Horner (Milinda's Questions, ii, p. 44, n. 3) remarks that the last verb occurs at MN iii, p. 233 and thinks that the word 'kantita' may mean spun rather than cut out.

[10] Ibid. p. 114.

[11] A. N. Basu, Social and Rural economy etc. pp. 91ff.

[12] MN i, p. 473.

Cattle rearing also helps the growth of economic output in the form of dairy farming. It is to be mentioned here, a realistic state of affair can be had from the humorous expression that the herdsman tends cows while others enjoy the products[4]. Dairy farming seems to be in an advanced stage and the supply of milk and its four products, viz, curds[5], buttermilk (takkaṁ)[6], butter[5] and ghee[5] are abundant.

Forest products are plenty. Many species of trees bearing fruits and flowers are mentioned[7]. Various kinds of grasses, trees, creepers, medicinal plants and forest trees are to be found in plenty[8]. The timber gathered from these trees are utilised for the construction of houses, vehicles, etc. There are wood-gatherer (kaṭṭha-hāraka), leaf-gatherer (paṇṇika) and grass-cutter (tiṇahāraka) who frequented the forests[9]. Kumkuma (saffron)[10], candana (sandal)[11], lohitacandana (red sandal)[12], kappura (camphor)[10] are among the miscellaneous products of forests.

India is rich in mineral wealth as is evident from the text. And so in ancient India mining formed an important industry and a source of economic development. It has been

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1. B. C. Law, Sravasti in Indian Literature, Memoir of A. S. I., No. 50, p. 16 ; B. M. Barua in IHQ vol. XX, p. 63.
2. Miln. p. 308.
3. Ibid. p. 307.
4. Ibid. p. 18—Gopālako gāvo rakkhati, aññe gorasaṁ paribhuñjati.
5. Ibid. p. 41.
6. Ibid. pp. 173, 181.
7. Ibid. pp. 338, 382.
8. Ibid. pp. 132, 268, 410.
9. Ibid. p. 331.
10. Ibid. p. 382.
11. Ibid. pp. 243, 348, 382.
12. Ibid. pp. 191, 252, 262 etc.

mentioned that different ores are obtained from mines, such as, iron, copper, silver, gold, etc[1]. Alloyed metals[2] are also produced. Besides metals, mineral substances, such as salt (lavaṇa, loṇa) etc. are available. Precious pearls, jewels, gold and corals (mutta-kalāpa-maṇi-kanaka-pavāla) and gems of various kinds are available.

Next we come to various manufacturing industries prevalent in those days. These are, no doubt, helped the growth of economic life of the then India. Spinning and weaving are the most important industry next to agriculture. That spinning and weaving are separate industries is evident from the text[3]. Clothes are dyed in red-colour (kāsāya) or in red-ochre (geruka). With this industry tailors (tantuvāya)[4], weavers (tantavāya, pesakāra)[5]. cotton-thread-spinners (suttakāra) are associated. Iron and steel industry comes next to spinning and weaving. Iron is converted to steel and from it various tools and weapons are made out. Smith (cunda) has a flourishing trade. They supply tools to agriculture, horticulture, carpentry and wood-cutting personnel. The weapons of war and surgical apparatus are also produced by them. The trade of smithy is separate from the manufacture of bows (dhanukāra) and of bow-strings (jiyakāra) as has been indicated in the text.

The word 'vaḍḍhaki' has been used in the text in a wider sense. It not only includes wood-work in general but also architectural constructions as well[6]. The carpenter's job is connected with all sorts of wood-work such as the planer (tacchaka) and the turner (bhamakāra) as we find in the phrase 'tacchako kālasuttaṁ anulomitvā rukkhaṁ tacchati'[7]. He is seen plying his trade with the measuring line (kālasutta) and put round a log with the black dust to guide his saw. He would

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1. Miln. pp. 62, 267. 331.
2. Ibid. p. 267—Vaṭṭaloha. In the Commentary it is said as one of the three Kittimaloha, VbhA. p. 83.
3. Ibid. p. 331.
4. Ibid. pp. 331, 365.
5. Ibid. p. 331.
6. Ibid. pp. 330, 345.
7. Ibid. p. 413.

then discard soft parts of the wood, take the hard part[1]. The importance of goldsmiths and jewellers are, no doubt, less ; for they have to meet the demands of fashion and luxury of the richer folk. The perfumer's art (gandhika)[2] is a specialised one and its various products are sold from the shop[3].

Apart from those mentioned above, the text also indicates a good number of other general and specialised crafts practised in the town[4]. There are also poorer crafts practised by the degraded class. The text further mentions of those people who earn their livelihood in dependence of the king. They are : body-guards (anikaṭṭha), courtiers (pārisajja), soldiers (bhaṭa), messengers (balattha) and the like[5].

The economic development is further strengthened with the brisk trading—both inland and foreign. Incidentally, it may be mentioned here that the inland trading is carried on mainly by bullock carts. A long line of bullock carts consisting of five hundred, sometimes one hundred[6], is led by a wealthy merchant and travelled through different roads and deserts[7]. The journey is not safe and secured as it is infested with dangers[8]. A long iist of inland trading centres has been mentioned in the text[9]. As regards foreign trade, the text affirms that the shipowners are getting rich by constantly levying freight in seaport, embarked on a high seas, sailed to different trading countries[10]. Among these centres China seems to be mentioned only here in the post-canonical texts[11], The Indian shipping which has

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1. Miln.—Phaggurh apaharitvā sāraṁ ādiyati
2. Ibid. pp. 262, 331.
3. Ibid. p. 332.
4. Ibid. p. 331.
5. Ibid. pp. 234, 240, 264.
6. Ibid. p. 17. 80, 302.
7. Ibid. pp. 194 ff.
8. Ibid. p. 280. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, pp. 44ff gives an account of trading routes; and B. C. Law, India as described etc. p 184 details the different roads and their insecurity.
9. Ibid. pp 331, 359.
10. Ibid. p. 359.
11. Mrs. Rhys Davids, J. R. A. S., 1901.

explored the known ranges of the commercial world at the time, most probably about the Christian era, is aptly represented in the text referring to the various centres on the three sides of India when ships could congregate. The text, further, gives a fine description of high seas, their dangers and romances[1]. Ship-building industry does not lag behind. Big ships are eonstructed[2] capable of sailing on perilous voyage laden with heavy cargoes[3].

**Religion** :

The religious life at the time of compilation of the text is most interesting and educative from the viewpoint of different types of religious beliefs that were advocated by the different religious orders. The city of Sāgala was then seething with religious fervent. The indomitable energy and boldness on philosophical discussions is characterised by the spirit of the age. To this may be added here the words of Rhys Davids, "there were teachers or sophists...... wandering about precisely with the object of enjoying in conversational discussions on matters of ethic and philosophy, nature-lore and mysticism[4]. Among the brāhmaṇas and sramaṇas, casuists (lokāyatas) and sophists (vitaṇḍas) the text refers as well the name of six heretical teachers[5]. They are : Puraṇa Kassapa, Mokkhali Gosāla, Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta, Sañjaya Bellaṭṭhiputta, Ajita Kesakambali and Kakudha Kaccāyana. There is no doubt that these heretical teachers were not alive at the time of king Milinda, but it is not improbable that they are represented here as initiators of older and philosophic schools and not as individuals[6]. They are described as head of a school, master of of pupils, leader of an order, well-known, famous, founder of a sect, respected as a saint by the people[1]. Although we find a brief philosophical discussion of Puraṇa Kassapa and Mokkhali Gosāla with the king, yet the heretical views of other teachers (titthiyas) are scattered here and there in the text without explicit mention of names of such teachers[2]. Here is given below a brief account of the philosophical views of the above two teachers as found in the text.

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[1] Miln. p. 161.

[2] Ibid. p. 261,

[3] Ibid. p. 80.

[4] Buddhist India, p. 59.

[5] Miln. p. 4.

[6] They are referred to as being alive during the reigns of Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu, DN i, pp. 50ff, MN i, p. 198, SN i, p. 68 etc. which represent some four centuries earlier than the Milindapañha.

The theory of Puraṇa Kassapa that the earth sustains the world[3] seems to be wrongly attributed to him. According to Dr. B. M. Barua[4], his is "a puerile doctrine". He is generally attributed with the doctrine of non-causation (ahetu-vāda)[5]. Elsewhere, he is said to be maintaining the doctrine of non-action (akiriyavāda)[6] which is much allied to the philosophy of Sāṅkhya according to the celebrated Jaina Commentator Śilāṅka[7]. In another instance his view is called as fortuitous origin (adhiccasamuppāda)[8].

As to the view of Mokkhali Gosāla that Brāhmana and outcasts would all retain their original status in future births[9] cannot be found elsewhere. Dr. Basham[10] holds that "in fact the whole passage with its obscurity and blatant anachronism" seems to be lacking in ascertaining its right perspective.

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[1] Miln. p. 4—saṅgino, gaṇino, gaṇācariyakā ñātā yasassino titthakārā sādhusammata bahujanassa,

[2] Miln. pp. 94, 102, 119 etc – paravāda, parappavāda.

[3] Paṭhavi mahārāja lokaṁ pāleti—Miln. p. 4.

[4] Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy, p. 270.

[5] DN ii, pp. 41-2 ; cf. B M. Barua, Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy, pp. 278ff.

[6] DN i, p. 54, SN iii, p. 69. According to Jaina sources, Ajita Kesakambali is the champion of the Akiriyavāda, 2500 Years of Buddhism, ed. Prof. P. V. Bapat, p. 12

[7] DN i, p. 47 ; also cf. B. M. Barua, Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy, p. 279.

[8] DN i, p 28.

[9] Ye te brāhmaṇā vessā suddā caṇḍālā pukkasā te parolokaṁ gantvāpi puna brāhmaṇā vessā suddā caṇḍālā pukkasā vā bhavissati—Miln. p. 5.

[10] A. L Basham, History and Doctrine of Ājivikas, p. 21 According to him this view is ascribed to Ajita Kesakambali in DN i, p. 55.

Apart from these, it is interesting to mention here that the text also provides us only with the descriptions of outward signs of the followers of different schools but without their names which throw much light on the religious conditions of the time.[1] These are :

i) Some covering themselves in front[2],
ii) Some covering themselves behind,
iii) Some going naked[3],
iv) Some being close-shaven and wearing white cloths,
v) Some wearing a top-knot,
vi) Some having a close-shaven and wearing in saffron robes,
vii) Some being dressed in saffron and having a top-knot,
viii) Some having matted their hair and wearing bark garments[4],
ix) Some being dressed in leather[5], and
x) Some being clothed in rays[6].

Incidentally, we find mention of various religious views at the fag end of the text[7]. They are stated to be advocating as :

1) Eternalism and annihilationism[8],
2) Soul and body are one and the same[9],
3) Soul is one thing and body is another[9],

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[1] Miln. p. 128.

[2] Buddhaghosa speaks of them as 'purimabhāga paṭicchanno', ANA iii, p. 334.

[3] Buddhaghosa describes them as 'naggapabbajita'—Ibid.

[4] They are Jaṭilakas, MN i, p. 282, AN iii, p. 275.

[5] Cammasāṭaka – they are paribbājkas, wanderers.

[6] Rasmiyo nivāseti—I. B. Horner remarks 'possibly, but not at all certainty, some reference to the halo round on Buddha's head or the rays emitted from his body'—Milinda's Questions i, p. 128.

[7] Miln. p. 413.

[8] Sassata and Uccheda—two opposing heresies advocated by Kakudha Kaccāyana and Ajita Kesakambali respectively, Buddhist Sutta p. 413.

[9] Taṁ jivaṁ taṁ sariraṁ and aññaṁ jivaṁ aññaṁ sariraṁ—two more heresies neither of which the Tathāgata subscribes, DN i, p. 157, MN i, pp. 426ff, SN ii, pp. 61ff ; also cf. KvA. p. 27.

4) All are alike and excellent[1],
5) What is not done is not to become[2],
6) Unimportance of man's action[3],
7) Living an unholy life[4],
8) On the destruction of a being, a new being manifests[5],
9) Constituent elements of a being are eternal[6],
10) Experience of action[7],
11) One acts and another experiences[8],
12) Experiencing the action (previously done) and wrong views on the result of actions[9].

Thus it is apparent that the adherents of these heterogenous sects can best be described as 'free lance' philosophers without strictly maintaining their status quo.

Further, the cryptic passages in the text may have contained elements of contemporary religious cults which generally belonged to devotional Hinduism. There were temples, dedicated to and supposed to be inhabited by Yakkhas and

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1. Taduttamaṁ aññaduttamaṁ—teachings (dhamma) probably to be understood here.
2. Akataṁ abhabbaṁ - this must be another heresy, because only Nibbāna according to Pali canon is akata, not made ; abhabba, unable to become, means not giving rise to effects. cf. Ud. p. 80 where it is said as abhutaṁ akataṁ ; cf. also IBH ii, p. 295, n. 9.
3. Apurisakāraṁ—In the DN i, p. 53, it is ascribed to Mokkhali Gosāla where it is said as n' atthipurisakāre ; also cf. IBH ii, p. 296, n. 1.
4. Abrahmacriyavāsaṁ—it has a reference to Ānanda's exposition of four antithesis to the higher, to the wanderer Saṇḍaka and ascribes to the Ājivikas, MN i, p. 524 ; A. L. Basham. History and Doctrine of Ājivikas, pp. 18ff.
5. Sattavināsaṁ navasattapātubhutaṁ—possibly advocated by Ajita Kesakambali.
6. According to Buddhist thought they are impermanent—sabbe saṅkhārā aniccā—Vin. i, p. 14.
7. Yo karoti so patisaṁvedeti.
8. Añño karoti añño paṭisaṁvedeti.
9. Kammaphaladassanā ca kiriyāphaladiṭṭhi ca—possibly referring to Mokkhali Gosāla's heresy—natthikammaṁ, natthikiriyaṁ AN i, p. 286.

devatās[1]. The mention of various sorts of mystic and charm, prognostication and devotion point to the 'animistic hocus-pocus evidently forming part of the beliefs of the people'[2]. Again, the fears as enumerated in the text[3] and other fears that might arise out of various actions, signs and omens etc. have made people naturally inclined to the secular brahmanic cult and occultism which are said to bring for them a fearless state. The Saccikiriyā[4] or the effective expression of the wish by an open declaration of truth was an aesthetic aspect improved and simplified through the Parittas[5]. Indeed, "the improvisation of Parittas as saving chants in early Buddhism was undoubtedly due to dire necessity of meeting the same popular demand".

Thus, we find inspite of different philosophical schools and heretical doctrines existing at the time, there are very subtle differences in matters of doctrines and practices. 'They only differed in intelligence, temperament, character and outlook'. From the above it is apparent that the life of the then India was usually of religious tolerance, amity and the like.

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[1] Miln. pp. 91, 271ff.
[2] Rhys Davids. Buddhist India, pp. 99ff.
[3] Miln. p. 196.
[4] Ibid. pp. 120ff.
[5] Ibid. pp. 150ff.

# CHAPTER V

The *Meṇḍakapañha*[1] which is rendered into English by scholars as dilemma covers the fourth part of the text. The dilemmas are presented by the king and solved by Nāgasena, These dilemmas consist of apparent inconsistency of various canonical or other statements of Buddha. The king puts these apparently contradictory statements to Nāgasena and seeks his explanation. According to the king these are necessary so that in future there may not arise any doubt or further contention regarding the teachings of the Great Master[2]. They may as well act as guidance to the intending disciples of the order (saṅgha).

The dilemmas abound with allusions, references and quotations. The topics that have been discussed cover a wide range of varied problems and they speak of deep erudition as well. In order to make the debates and dilemmas interesting for the clarification and better understanding of the teachings of the Great Master, innumerable canonical sources and "a number of canonical passages of similar sentiments" are taken up for illustration of points. Also certain non-canonical notions and terms are used herein to explain the difficulties in the exposition of some dilemmas. The use of innumerable words and its application in the right perspective also testify to the eloquent character of these dilemmas. But they are not at all free from blemishes as "quite often when the right answer to a dilemma would be a simple matter of historical

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1. Questions belonging to a ram. Just as a ram has two horns pointing at both ends so the questions having 'horns' both ways, thus a dilemma. Mr. Trenckner, (Miln. text pp. 422-23) alludes to the story of a ram in the Ummagga Jātaka (Jā. vi, pp. 353-55) which is told in the form of such difficult and puzzling question none but Bodhisatta can answer it. I. B. Horner (Milinda's Questions, i, p. 133, n. 3) points out that such type of question placed by the Jains before the Buddha (MN i, p. 393).
2. Miln. p. 95.

Bodhisatta practises these ten *pāramitās* (perfections) in order to gain supreme Enlightenment. These are as follows :

1. Dāna (charity)—it is the first of the ten *pāramitās* (perfections). A Bodhisatta practises charity without any distinction made nor any expectation of reward in return. But he must be careful that his charity would not be misused. It is the prime factor in the teachings of the Buddhas. In all the sermons of the Buddhas, charity forms the opening part of them. The ordinary worldly persons can arouse in them to do charity for the sake of happiness in this life or the next. It is said in the text[1] that charity is the 'bridge', 'the ship'', by which one can cross the ocean of becomings. It has a double blessing both the donor and the donee derive benefit out of it[2]. In some of the dilemmas[3], charity of Vessantara has been elaborately discussed. It is said that Vessantara gave away his wife and children and thereby practised the virtue of charity in its full perfection. This act of charity is being looked upon as excessive. But Nāgasena denies it and asserts that such charity 'is praised, lauded, exalted, magnified and famous throughout the ten thousand world system. It would bring forth fruit in happiness and lead rebirths in the state of bliss'[4].

2. Sīla (morality)—the observance of moralities (sīlas) is regarded as the ideals of restraint and self-control in respect of body, speech and mind. The great importance is being attached to morality as it removes the obstacles to the attainment of good action. Thus a Bodhisatta refrains from evil and does good to the best of his ability.

By sīla (morality) it is generally meant ten precepts (sikkhāpadas). They are : refraining from killing, theft, unchastity, falsehood, intoxicating drinks, eating at the wrong hour, worldly amusements, using neither unguents nor ornaments, sleeping on a high, big bed and accepting any gold or silver[1]. Among them the laity must observe the first five rules. A good householder is enjoined to observe the first eight rules. But the ten precepts must be observed by a good monk. Morality (sīla) also sometimes means abstaining from committing ten evil deeds which are taking life, stealing, unchastity, falsehood, harsh words, malicious speech, frivolous talk, covetousness, ill-will and wrong views[2]. In the text[3] morality (sīla) is classed as saraṇa-sīla[4], pañca-sīla[5], aṭṭhaṅga-sīla[6], dasaṅga-sīla[7] and pātimokkhasaṁvara-sīla[8], i.e., restrained by the rules of *Pātimokkha*—all of these, however, refer to the sikkhāpadas (precepts) and not to the sīlas (moralities). Again, the mention of 'cattāro sīlakkhandhā' in the text[9] constitute the four sections of morality, viz., pātimokkha-saṁvara-sīla (the fundamental moral code), indriyasaṁvara-sīla (morality pertaining to self-restraint), ājivapārisuddha-sīla (morality pertaining to purity of livelihood) and paccaya-sannissita-sīla (morality pertaining to the use of the necessaries of life). 'Sīlakkhandhā' may also be taken as body of morality as forming the first constituent of the five khandhas or groups[10] which constitute the five sampadās or whole range of religious development[11]. Elsewhere in the text[12] it is said that morality

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[1] Miln. pp. 228ff.

[2] Ibid. p. 212.

[3] Ibid. pp. 113ff, 277ff.

[4] Ibid. pp. 139-140.

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1. Pānātipātā veramaṇi, adinnadānā veramaṇi, abrahmacariyā veramaṇi, musāvādā veramaṇi, surāmerayamajjapamādaṭṭhānā veramaṇi, vikālabhojanā veramaṇi, naccagītavāditavisukadassanā veramaṇi, mālāgandhavilepanadhāraṇamaṇḍanavibhusanaṭṭhānā veramaṇi, uccāsayanamahāsayanā veramaṇi and jātarūparajatapaṭiggahanā veramaṇi.
2. Pānātipātā, adinnadānā, abrahmacariyā, musāvādā, pisunavācā, pharusavācā, samphappalāpā, abhijjhā, vyāpāda and micchādiṭṭhi.
3. Miln. p. 333.
4. The three-fold refuge morality, i.e., Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha.
5. The first five rules under note 1 above.
6. The first eight rules under note 1 above.
7. All the rules under note 1 above.
8. Cf. KhpA p. 221.
9. Miln. p. 243.
10. The other four are : samādhi, paññā, vimutti and ñānadassana.
11. That is, sīla, samādhi, paññā, vimutti and vimuttiñānadassana.
12. Miln. p. 336.

(sīla) functions as one of the seven jewels (ratanas)[1]. Further, morality (sīla) is said to be the basis and by right practising of which one can realise Nibbāna[2]. Morality (sīla) is like an antidote, a medicine for destroying the defilements[3].

3. Nekkhamma (renunciation)—a Bodhisatta must pursue renunciation. Renunciation is necessary to avoid indulgence in worldly pleasures. The life in solitude helps practising the higher morality without any selfish attitude. It, further, helps to control and purify the mind, to ascertain the true nature of all things, to think rightly and deeply. to develop the higher nature of man and to appreciate fully the higher spiritual values. It is 'clean and pure'[4] and congenial to the development of lofty thoughts[5]. Thus, a life in celibacy and seclusion is the dictum of an advanced Bodhisatta's last life.

4. Paññā (wisdom)—is the highest virtue in Buddhism. With the aversion of worldly pleasures and leading a spiritual life in seclusion, good thoughts tend to elevate one. He rightly understands the three-fold natures of all things—anicca (transient), dukkha (sorrowful) and anatta (without any substance). It is, again, divided into three, viz., sutamayi—that which depends on hearing the teaching from another person and on the study of the *Scriptures*, cintāmayi—that which arises from reflexion and bhāvanāmayi—the superior kind of knowledge acquired by meditation and contemplation.

5. Viriya (energy)—it is an asset of a Bodhisatta to develop mental vigour or strength of character. Firmly establishing himself in this virtue and by persistent effort he develops self-reliance. This auspicious principle is conducive to

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1. The five as given under note 11 above plus paṭisambhidā and bojjhaṅga.
2. Miln. p. 327
3. Ibid. p. 195.
4. Santaṁ parisuddhaṁ—Miln. p. 409.
5. Miln. pp. 408ff.

achieving the goal. It also helps to remove obstacles confronting the mental and active endeavour.

6. Khanti (patience)—it is the patient endurance of pain and hardship in whatever forms experienced by a Bodhisatta. In other words, he faces all the vicissitudes of life with patience and tolerance. He finds not in any one any act of mis-conduct nor expresses any kind of irritation.

7. Sacca (truthfulness)—the practice of this perfection makes a Bodhisatta firm in his promise. He has to make his promise fulfilled once made at any cost. It is one of the salient characteristics of a Bodhisatta that he breaks not his word. In his speech he never swerves from the truth. He is ever vigilant that his speech is beneficial to others.

8. Adhiṭṭhāna (firm determination)—as patience (khanti) makes a Bodhisatta endure manifold hardships, this perfection enables him to be firm in his determination to achieve the goal. He never feels frustrated in his temporary setback but with more vigour and enthusiasm he pursues the path.

9. Mettā (loving-kindness)—Buddhaghosa[1] defines mettā (loving-kindness) as 'hita-sukh-upanaya-kamati' i.e., desire of bringing welfare and good to one's fellow-men. It is the most important of all *pāramitās* (perfections). A Bodhisatta is permeated with boundless goodwill and exercises and extends it towards all beings. It is an antidote (bhesajja)[2]. It is an active force in Buddhism. It, as Mrs. Rhys Davids[3] observes, "is no mere matter of pretty speech for strong was the conviction that 'thoughts and things', that psychical action, emotional or intellectual, is capable of working like a force among the forces".

It forms one of the dialogues between the king and Nāgasena[4]. Here the practice of Mettā (loving-kindness) and its special qualities are enumerated. It is said that eleven

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1. SnA. 128.
2. Miln. p. 394.
3. Dial. iii, p. 185.
4. Miln. pp. 198ff.

advantages are inherent in the individual who develops loving-kindness in his heart. These are : He who does so sleeps in peace and in peace does he awake. He dreams no sinful dreams. He becomes dear to men and to the beings who are not men. Gods watch over him. Neither fire, nor poison, nor sword works any harm to him. Quickly and easily does he become tranquilised. The aspect of his countenance is calm. Undismayed does he meet death, and should he not press through to the Supreme Condition (of Arhatship), then is he sure of rebirth in the Brahma world. It further asserts that the practice of loving-kindness is the productive of all virtuous conditions of mind both in good beings and in evil ones. To all beings whatsoever, who are in the bonds of conscious existence, is this practice of loving-kindness of great advantage and therefore ought it to be sedulously cultivated[1].

10. Upekkhā (equanimity)—The tenth and the last of the Decalogue is equanimity (upekkhā). It has been discussed under Bojjhaṅga below.

**Arhat :**

Arhatship is the last and the highest stage leading to Nibbāna, the Summum Bonum of life. It is a custom that an intending candidate has to be admitted to the saṅgha (order). If he does not do so, he is reckoned to be guilty of theft (theyyam āpajjati[2]. Only then he can work hard and exert himself for the fulfilment of its course. Elsewhere in the text[3] Nāgasena refers twenty special qualities of a recluse who desires to reach forward to the condition of Arhatship. These are : the best form of self-restraint, the highest kind of self-control, right conduct, right abiding (probably referring to meditation), self-restraint (saṁyama), self-control (saṁvara)[1], patience (khanti), docility (soracca), fairing in solitude (ekatta-cariyā), delight in solitude (ekattābhirati), solitary meditation (paṭisallāna), modesty and fear in doing wrong (hiri-otappaṁ), energy (viriya)[2], diligence, (appamādo)[3], understanding the precepts (sikkhāsamādānaṁ), recitation (of the Scriptures), the interrogation, delight in the Sīlas and others (rules of morality), freedom from attachment (to the things of the world) and fulfilment of the precepts. An aspirant, after striving hard, is endowed with five qualities[4] and trained himself in the three trainings[5]. He follows, further, the moral habits he is attributed with both in the manner of acting and avoiding. He pursues the right custom and practices. Thus he is endowed with such characteristic qualities as of good behaviour, moral habits, special qualities, right custom and practice[6]. He has to cross over three stages[7], each being endowed with such qualities as to make himself perfect for the attainment. The first stage makes him free from first three fetters (saṁyojanas), the second one makes him attain the second grade of saving wisdom and the third one completely makes him breaking the bonds which a man is behind Arhatship. So near is the Anāgami to the goal that after death he will be reborn in one of the highest heavens (suddhāvāsas) and there will obtain Arhatship never returning to rebirth as a man[1]. In his spiritual progress he finds no obstacle from the moment his mind is being concentrated (ekacittakkhaṇena). It is possible because he is purified in his individual essence (sabhāvaparisuddha) and has retained the impressions of his former births (pubbe vasitavāsana)[2]. He himself is able to make progress without any help as he has already acquired merit in the way of concentration[3]. Just as one man who is clever in business goes alone to his master and concludes the business, so he who is purified in his individual essence and has retained the impressions of his former births, achieves mastery in the six super-knowledges[4] from the moment his mind is concentrated[5]. He has, further, extirpated all cognitions, ended skill and unskill, slain ignorance, rendered consciousness seedless, burnt up all the defilements and conquered worldly things[6].

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[1] Sabbakusalā guṇavahā mahārāja mettābhāvanā hitānaṁ-pi ahitānaṁ-pi ye te sattā viññānabaddhā sabbesaṁ mahānisaṁsa mettābhāvanā sambhivajitabbā'ti, Miln. p. 200.

[2] Miln. p. 265. It has similarity of Vinaya rules where it falls under the category of taking something which has not been given. Vin. 1. pp. 86, 307. It probably means those do not follow the guidance of the Saṅgha (order) cannot claim benefit out of it even when attained to that exalted position.

[3] Miln. pp. 162ff

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[1] According to MilnṬ it is the proper control of the Pātimokkha—Pātimokkhasaṁvarasaṁvuto.

[2] In the four right efforts i.e., to suppress the arising of evil states, to eradicate those evils already arisen, to stimulate good states and to perfect those good already arisen.

[3] In the search for Arhatship.

[4] Pañca Padhāniyaṇga—saddhā (faith), appabādhā (good health), asaṭho (honest), āraddhaviriya (resolute) and paññavā (wise), Miln. p. 133, cf. DN iii, p. 237.

[5] Miln. pp. 133, 237. The three trainings are : moral habit (adhisīla), concentration (adhicitta) and wisdom adhipaññā) ; cf. DN iii, p. 219, AN i, pp. 234ff.

[6] Miln. p. 133.

[7] They are Sotāpatti (entering the stream), Sakadāgami (once-returner) and Anāgami (non-returner).

An Arhat is free from all fears as he has no wrong views of self (attānudiṭṭhi) and has passed beyond all pleasures and pains of life. It is striking to note here that even if an Arhat possesses six super-knowledges and destroys the cankers[7], he can do no miracle (pāṭihāriya) unless his mind is carefully considered (yoniso cetayitvā) and volitionally determined (adhiṭṭhāna). Only by volitionally determined mind an Arhat performs miracle out of compassion for devas and men[1]. "Arhats have neither approval nor repugnance; nor do Arhats destroy what is unripe, wise men wait for full maturing"[2].

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[1] Miln. pp. 102ff, 163.

[2] Ibid. p. 263.

[3] It comprises of : indriyesu guttadvāratā (guarding of the senses), sati-sampajañña (self-possession), santuṭṭhi (contentment), pañcanīvaraṇāni (emancipation from five hindrances) and the four jhānas (meditation) ; cf. Dial. i, p. 57.

[4] Cf. Miln. p. 140. The six super-knowledges (chasu abhiññāsu) are : iddhi (psychic power), dibbacakkhu (clairvoyance), dibbasota (clairaudience), cittapariyāya (thought reading), pubbanivāsānussati (recollecting previous births) and cuti-upapatti (knowing other peoples' rebirth).

[5] Miln. p. 264.

[6] Samucchinnā sabbasaṅkhārā hataṁ kusalākusalaṃ vihatā avijjā abījaṁ viññānaṁ kataṁ daddhā sabbakilesā ativattā lokadhammā, Miln. p. 146, cf. also Miln. pp. 207ff.

[7] Miln. p. 141.

The king enquires why an Arhat feels bodily feeling only and not mental feeling[3]. To this Nagasena replies that the Arhat feels but one feeling and that is of bodily feeling, because he has no power to exercise mastery over the body. It is the most characteristic feature of an Arhat that he realises the truth about the material body. As his mind is well-cultivated, restrained, attentive and ready to serve, he can never feel any mental feelings, whenever any such feeling arises he firmly fixes his mind and thus sees the impermanency of it[4]. Just as a great and mighty tree with a full complement of trunk, branches, and foliages, its trunk is not shaken by the force of the wind, so his mind like the trunk of that great tree, does not quiver or shake. He is never overwhelmed or over-powered by worldly things[5]. But Nāgasena agrees that an Arhat cannot escape the bodily feelings. Since ten natural conditions of body[6] are accompanied in course of its existences in different births, so he has no control or authority over the body. Just as those beings who are dependent on earth, all move and live and order their conduct in dependence on it[7].

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1. Miln. p. 309.
2. Na ca arahanto apakkaṁ pātenti, paripākaṁ āgamenti paṇḍitā, Ibid. pp. 44, 187. Cf. Na kho samaṇā-brāhmanā sīlavanto kalyān-adhammā apakkaṁ paripācenti, api ca paripākaṁ āgamenti paṇḍitā, DN ii, p. 332: cf. also IBH i, p. 61. n. 4.
3. Miln. p. 254.
4. So dukkhāya vedanāya phuṭṭho samaṇo aniccan'ti daḷhaṁ gaṇhāti, Miln. p. 254.
5. Ibid. p. 146.
6. Ibid. p. 253, Kāyānugatā dhammā i.e., coolness, warmth, hunger, thirst, excrement, urine. sloth and drowsiness, old age, disease and death.
7. Ibid.

That is why he feels bodily feeling. Inspite of an Arhat's knowledge of freedom and six super-knowledges he can further fall into an offence (āpatti)[1]. There are, no doubt, certain things, mainly those concerning with the *Vinaya* rules that an Arhat transgresses. It is not within the range of every Arhat to know everything[2].

An Arhat has cut off all future existences. With the attainment of the last highest stage of the Path he is beyond the saṁsāra and naturally Nibbāna coincides with the release from the existence. It may be pointed out here that elsewhere in the text[3] Nāgasena pleads that there are two destinies for a householder who becomes an Arhat. On that very day either he attains complete Nibbāna or goes forth from home to homelessness. The householder who has so attained the holy condition of Arhatship cannot let pass the day. Because of his unequal attributes he cannot sustain the attributes of Arhatship. Although he may by his own exertion reach to that exalted stage yet he has not disciplined himself with the rules of renunciation. Since five special characteristic qualities are inherent in the Teaching which can only bear by a well-disciplined recluse. These are: its mighty character as a plane (phūmi), its character of complete and stainless purity, its character as one of not associating with evil things, its character as being one that is hard to pierce and its character as one to be preserved by many controls[4]. Just as a man who is feeble and weak, of lowly birth and of little merit, comes to naught and to ruin the moment he has acquired a great and mighty kingdom, falters and is unable to sustain the authority, even so, the householder who has attained Arhatship is unable to sustain Arhatship because of those attributes '(of weakness) and for that reason he either goes forth or attains final Nibbāna on that very day[5]. An Arhat has also freed himself from different modes of births and destroyed the links of re-incarnation (paṭisandhi) by the extinction of all grasping (upādāna)[1]. Arhatship is cool (sitala) and unstained by rapture and joy.[2]

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[1] Miln. p. 266.

[2] Ibid. p. 267.

[3] Ibid. pp. 164. 249ff, 264.

[4] Ibid. p. 249.

[5] Ibid. pp. 164, 265ff.

Nāgasena enumerates thirty special qualities inherent in an Arhat[3]. These are.

"1) His mind is full of affectionate, soft and tender love.

"2) Evil is killed, destroyed, cast out from within him.

"3) and 4) Pride and self-righteousness are put an end to and cast down.

"5) Stable and strong, and established and undeviating is self-confidence.

"6) He enters into the enjoyment of the heart's refreshment, the highly praised, and desirable peace and bliss of the ecstasies of contemplation fully felt,

"7) He exhales the most excellent and unequalled sweet savour of righteousness of life.

"8) Near is he and dear to gods and men.

"9) Exalted by the best of beings, the Arhat Noble Ones themselves.

"10) Gods and men delight to honour him.

"11) The enlightened, wise and learned approve, esteem and appreciate him.

"12) Untarnished is he by the love either in this world or the next.

"13) He sees the danger in the smallest, most insignificant offence,

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1. Miln. p. 146. There are four kinds of grasping (upādāna), viz , sensual (kāmupādana), speculation (diṭṭhupādāna), belief in rites (silabbatupādāna) and belief in the soul theory (attavādupādāna).
2. Miln. P. 76.
3. Ibid. pp. 361ff ; cf. also Rhys Davids, History and Literature of Buddhism, p. 121ff.

"14) Rich is he in the best of wealth—the wealth that is the fruit of the Path, the wealth of those who are seeking the highest of the Attainments.

"15) He is in receipt, in full measure, of the four requisites of a recluse (food, clothing, lodging and meditation).

"16) He lives without a home, addicted to that best austerity that is dependent on meditation.

"17) He has unravelled the whole net of evil. He has broken and burnt through, doubled up and utterly destroyed, the possibility to rebirth in any of the five future states[1].

"18) He has broken and burnt through the five obstacles to the highest life in this world (lust, malice, sloth, pride and doubt).

"19) He is unalterable in character.

"20) He is excellent in conduct.

"21) He transgresses none of the rules as to the four requisites of a recluse.

"25) He has passed beyond all perplexity.

"23) His mind is set upon complete emancipation.

"24) He has seen the truth.

"25) The sure and steadfast place of refuge from all fear has he gained.

"26) The seven evil inclinations (to lust, and malice, and heresy, and doubt, and pride, and desire for future life, and ignorance) are rooted out in him.

"27) He has reached the end of the Great Evils (lust, future life, deluslon and ignorance).

"28) and 29) He abounds in peace, and the bliss of the ecstasies of contemplation.

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[1] These are : niraya (purgatory), tiracchānayoni (animal kingdom), petayoni (ghost world), manussā (human beings) and devā (goods) ; cf. DN iii, 234, MN i. p. 73 etc. Detailed descriptions of these states are given in the Pañcagatidīpana, edited by L. Feer, J. P. T. S , 1884.

“30) He is endowed with all the virtues a recluse should have.

Thus an Arhat has destroyed all bourns, extinguished every mode of birth, destroyed reconnections, broken the rafters, rooted out all becomings, extirpated all (kammic) formations, ceased good and evil, slain ignorance, rendered consciousness seedless, burnt up all the defilements and conquered all worldly things.[1]

The text further gives one hundred and five similes illustrating the qualities by which a recluse may be regarded as an Arhat. But it is to be noted here that out of one hundred and five similes only sixty-seven similes are found herein. The similes employed herein refer to both living creatures and nature.

**Buddha-Tathāgata** :

As regards Buddhas or Tathāgatas, we find from scattered passages in the text, all the various Buddhas have in common a number of qualities, factors or activities. All Buddhas are all-knowing (subbaññutā)[3] possessing ten powers (dasa balāni)[4], four confidences (catu vesārajja)[5], and eighteen special Buddha qualities (aṭṭhārasa āveṇika Buddhadhammā)[6]. No other being

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1. Arahato sabbagati upacchinnā, yoni viddhaṃsitā. paṭisandhi upahatā, bhaggā phāsu, samuhatā sabbabhavālaya, samucchinnā sabbasaṅkhārā, hataṁ kusalākusalaṃ, vihatā avijjā, abījani viññānaṃkataṁ, daddhā sabbakilesā, ativattā lokadhammā, Miln. p. 146.
2. Miln. 363ff.
3. Miln. p. 102.
4. Ibid. pp. 105, 285. The ten are : ṭhānāṭhānañāna, kammavipākañāna, nānādhimuttiñāna, nānādhātuñāna, indriyaparāparañāna, sabbatthagāminipaṭipadāñāna, sabbajjhānavimokkhasamādhisamāpattikilesavyavadānavuṭṭhanañāna, pubbanivāsānussatiñāna, cutiupapattiñāna and āsavakkhyañāna. Mahāvyutpatti (Sakaki), pp. 9-10 ; Cf. AN v, p. 32, MN i, p. 69, QKM ii, p. 134, n. 2, A. C. Banerjee, Buddhism in India and Abroad, p. 101.
5. Cf. MN i, p. 71, AN ii, p. 9.
6. Cf. Vva. 213, Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism p. 63.

possesses these attributes. A brief account of these qualities is given under :

1. The Ten Powers—A Buddha possesses the knowledge of correct and faulty conclusions. He knows fully and truly the consequences of all actions. He is congnisant of the various aspirations. He knows the various dhātus (elements)[1] in the universe. He has the knowledge of what goes on in the senses and intensions of others. He knows the way that leads to all states. He realises the defilements, purifications and origination of all the forms of Musing, Deliverances, Concentration and Ecstatic Attainment. He remembers all his previous existences. He discerns the process of the death and rebirth of all beings. He knows that his cankers (āsavas) have been destroyed. Thus he acquires the powers and possesses knowledge that are varied and accurate. The last three powers are the threefold knowledge (tisso vijjā) that a Buddha gains immediately before Enlightenment[2].

2. The Four Confidences—He knows that he has attained perfect Enlightenment and understands all dhammas. He knows that he has destroyed all the cankers. He recognises the obstacles which hinder the higher life. He recognises the Way and preaches for the cessation of pain and suffering which leads to the goal[3].

3. The Eighteen Buddha qualities—These eighteen special attributes distinguish a Buddha from all other beings. He is free from errors and faults. He is not noisy and talkative. He never loses mindfulness. His mind is always composed and collected. He has no notion of multiplicity. His equanimity is not due to want of judgement. He is firm in his will and

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[1] The Buddhists divide the entire sum of things into seventy-five dhātus (elements) of which seventy-two are compound (saṅkhata) and the three are uncompound (asaṅkhata). The three uncompound dhātus (elements) are : ākāṣa, apratisaṃkhyā-nirodha and pratisaṁkhyā-nirodha. The last two are synonymous with Nibbāna ; Cf. Abhidharma-kośa i, 5, pp. 6ff.

[2] Cf MN i, p. 22.

[3] Cf. MN i, p. 71.

resolution. His energy is never diminished. His mindfulness is never relaxed. His deliverance knows no change. All his actions performed with the body are preceded by and continued in accordance with knowledge. All his words and utterances are preceded by and continued in accordance with knowledge. All his thoughts are preceded by and continued in accordance with knowledge. He has absolute and infallible knowledge and insight with regard to the past, future and present time.

Being endowed with these extra-ordinary qualities their consciousness proceed smoothly because of complete purity.[1] The all-knowingness (sabbaññutā) is acquired by them by trodding the ancientt way[2] and this is one of mental endurance and exertion but not through physical mortifications[3] since resorting to the extreme practices of self-mortification and self-indulgence do not lead to the perfect peace and enlightenment. The indulgence in the pleasures of the senses and self-mortification have repeatedly been forbidden in the Buddhist texts[4]. All Tathāgatas and fully awakened Buddhas practise solitary meditation (paṭisallāna)[5]. By concentrating a Tathāgata reflects and by reflecting he knows what he pleases to know. He recollects the qualities of his past deeds while pondering in concentration. These qualities are twenty-eight in all. They are : solitary meditation acts as protector to a man, augmentor of longevity, bestower of strength, coverer of what is censurable, remover of disreputation, promoter of fame, remover of dissatisfaction, provider of contentment, repeller of fear, producer of self-confidence, remover of laziness, procreator of power, destroyer of attachment, aversion and confusion, subduer of pride, breaker of thinking, developer of concentration, promoter of unperturbed mind, producer of bliss, promoter of seriousness, helper to profit, creator for veneration, bringer of rapture, maker of joy, revealer of cognitions and becomings, and giver of the entire recluseship[1]. All the Buddhas, further, desire in four ways to obtain peace, happiness and satisfaction in the attainment, viz., (i) it gives comfort in abiding in meditation (vihāraphāsu), (ii) it produces abundant faultless good qualities, (iii) it is the complete Aryan course and (iv) it is extolled, praised, commended and lauded by all Buddhas[2].

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[1] Miln. p. 106.

[2] Ibid. pp. 218.

[3] Ibid p. 245.

[4] Kāmesukāmasukhalikānuyogo and attakilamathānuyogo, Mv. Vol. I, p. 10.

[5] Miln. p. 139.

Curiously enough, the text indicates the manifestation of causal effects (kammavipāka) of Bodhisatta Gotama even after attaining the Enlightenment. There are three such instances put forth to Nāgasena by the king. The king asserts that inspite of his attaining the Enlightenment, the Buddha Gotama must have some influenee of kamma (action) done in his previous birth. If not, he would not have to shed blood due to the stone Devadatta hurled down on him[3], or to face the fierce killer elephant loosed against him by Devadatta[4], or again, in one of his begging round at Verañjā he had received nothing but had to eat dried barley[5]. Nāgasena expressing the causes says that in the first case, as the Bodhisatta he had thrown down the rock on two brothers[6],the second because in a former birth he had driven his chariot against a Pacceka Buddha and lastly, in time of the Buddha Phussa he had reviled some monks.

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1. Aṭṭhavisati kho pan'ime mahārāja paṭisallānaguṇa......idha mahārāja paṭisallānaṁ paṭisalliyamānaṁ rakkhati, āyuṁ vaḍḍati, balaṁ deti, vajjaṁ pidahati, āyāsaṁ apaneti, yasaṁ upaneti, aratiṁ vinodeti, ratiṁ upadahati, bhayaṁ apaneti, vesārajjaṁ kareti, kosajjaṁ apaneti, viriyaṁ abhijāneti, rāgaṁ apaneti, dosaṁ apaneti, mohaṁ apaneti mānaṁ nihati, vitakkaṁ bhañjati, cittaṁ ekaggaṁ karoti, mānasaṁ anehayati, hāsaṁ janeti, garukaṁ karoti, lābhaṁ uppadayati namassiyaṁ karoti, pītiṁ pāpeti, pamojjaṁ karoti, saṅkhāranaṁ sabhāvaṁ dassayati, bhavapaṭisandhiṁ ugghaṭeti, sabhasāmaññaṁ deti, Miln. pp. 139-140.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid pp. 134, 179.
4. Ibid. pp. 207, 349.
5. Ibid. pp. 231ff.
6. Cf. Ap i, p. 299ff.

The Buddhas are called the 'Brahma' because they put away all evil dispositions and attain all knowing knowledge[1]. All Buddhas have in common many high qualities such as their physical beauties[2], morality, concentration, wisdom, etc., and their entire Buddha natures (Buddha-dhammā) have no difference with each other[3]. The utterances and speeches of all Buddhas have reasons and causes in their background and not fruitless talks at all[4]. Tathāgatas words, even when severe sometimes, are to the purpose and imbued with compassion[5]. Their mission is to proclaim the saving truth to all beings[6]. There are, further, four qualities inherent in a Tathāgata that form one in their essential functions so that no one can obstruct him. They are : a gift that was made specially or prepare for him, no one can stand within the rays that are emitting out from his physical frame, to his jewel of knowledge that is all-knowingness and no one can hinder his living principle[7]. The Buddha or the Tathāgata is the support of all beings and those who seek after good find in him a home of peace and tranquillity[8].

The present Buddha i.e., Gotama the Buddha although was born as a Khattiya yet he is called a Brāhmaṇa because he carries on the sacred tradition and excels in wisdom, self-control and virtue[9]. Like all other Sammā Sambuddhas he founded an Order (Saṅgha), converting and gladdening men by his discourses. After a long life of teaching he attained Nibbāna (nibbānaṁ adhigacchati) and passed away utterly[10].

Tathāgatas are not tempered and beyond satisfaction. Hence they are free from approval and repugnance

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[1] Miln, pp. 225ff.

[2] Probably the thirty-two marks of a great man.

[3] Miln. pp. 276, 285, cf. also Miln. p. 105.

[4] Ibid. p. 145.

[5] Ibid. p. 172.

[6] Ibid. p. 106.

[7] Ibid. p. 157

[8] Ibid. p. 95. Cf. "Indeed, Ānanda, on account of me the good friend, beings liable to birth are freed from rebirth"—SN i, p. 88.

[9] Ibid. p. 225.

[10] Ibid. p. 96.

(anunayapaṭighavippamutta)[1]. The essential rightness (dhammatā) in all Tathāgatas is to preach the dhamma at the request of Brahmā. According to Nāgasena, Brahmā is very highly revered by the people and if such revered one bows down to a Tathāgata, naturally the world will honour him for he excels in quality and power to that of Brahmā[2].

It is the custom of all Tathāgatas that they first of all to give sermon on charity (dāna) and instruct them in the plane of kamma (action). By this they arouse mental satisfactions of the listeners so that they can cross the ocean of becomings by the bridge of charity or by the ships of charity[3]. Both the donor and the donee derive benefit out of this[4].

The Buddhas teach thirty-seven qualities (bodhipakkhiya-dhammas) which are helpful for the attainment of Enlightenment[5]. Elsewhere in the text[6] these qualities are enumerated in seven groups. They are : four application of mindfulness (cattāro satipaṭṭhānas), four right efforts (cattāro sammappadhānas), four bases of psychic powers (cattāro iddhipādas)—which is also figuratively used as 'iddhiyāna', vehicle of psychic power,[7] five senses and their powers (indriyabalas). seven limbs of enlightenment (satta bojjhaṅgas) and the Noble Eightfold Path (ariyaṭṭhangikamagga). These thirty-seven qualities are also called the Paribhoga-bhaṇḍāni or the insignia of the Buddha[8]. These principles and practices contribute to the greatest happiness of gods and men.

A brief account of each of these are stated below :

1. The Four Application of Mindfulness (cattāro satipaṭṭhānas)—The four are : kāyagatā-sati, vedanā-sati, citta-sati and dhamma-sati.

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[1] Miln. p. 187.
[2] Ibid. p. 234.
[3] Ibid. pp. 228-9.
[4] Ibid. p. 212.
[5] Ibid. p. 237.
[6] Ibid. p. 330 ; cf. DN iii, p. 106.
[7] Ibid. p. 276.
[8] Ibid. 330.

i) Kāyagatā-sati—Intentness of mind on the body. That it 'is foul and filthy, that it is transient and unsubstantial and that it is the seat of and source of sinful passions and desires'. Thus it is the realisation of the impermanency of all things[1]. It is one of the objective supports (ārammaṇa) for meditation[2].

ii) Vedanā-Sati—It may be translated either as sensation or feeling. Sensation in the sense, it is an immediate outcome of the contact (phassa) between the sense-organs and the external objects as expressed in the well-known formula of the twelve nidānas (links and causes). Again, vedanā is said to be of three kinds : pleasant (sukha), painful (dukkha) and indifferent (adukkha-m-asukha). Here 'feeling' is more appropriate to interpret vedanā. Thus to practise with regard to vedanā is to restrain and control oneself from all feelings or sensations.

iii) Citta-sati—Thought is "the centre and focus of man's emotional nature as well as intellectual element which inheres in and accompanies its manifestations". It is the seat of co-efficients (cetasikas). Thought is also likened to a monkey[3]. So it is unstable and restless. Mindfulness on thought is carried on to restrain it from evil thoughts and impurities. In other words, thought is to be well-guarded and controlled by the mindfulness.

iv) Dhamma-sati—It is the last of the four application of mindfulness. Buddhaghosa[4] defines dhamma as 'nissatta-nijjivatā', 'the phenomenal', as opposed to 'the substantial', 'the noumenal', 'animistic entity' as one of the fourfold meaning[5]. The first three mindfulness above correspond to personality, i. e. the body, the feelings and the thought. The last one turns towards the outer world, the universe in general.

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1. Miln. pp. 248, 336 ; cf. MN iii. pp. 88ff.
2. Ibid. p. 332.
3. Vism. p. 425.
4. DhsA. p. 38.
5. See PED q. v. Dhamma.

The realisation of the evanescent character of phenomena and the true knowledge of its causes are obtained by mindfulness.

II. The Four Right Efforts (cattāro sammappadhānā)—

i) To strive for destroying the unskilful states that have arisen in the mind.

ii) To strive for not arising further the unskilful state that has not arisen.

iii) To strive for arising of skilful state, and

iv) To strive for keeping and increasing the skilful state that has arisen already.

The first is avoided by removal (pahāṇa), the second by restrain (saṁvara), the third by meditation (bhāvanā) and the last by guarding (anurakkhana).

III. The Four Bases of Psychic Powers (cattāro iddhipādā) The four determinations on desire (chanda), energy (viriya), thought (citta) and investigation (vimaṁsā). These are cultivated to the making determination in respect of concentration. It is said[1] that those who possess the psychic power are called the 'Family-priest'. It goes on to describe as such: "those monks who are of psychic powers, masters of the analytical insights, attained to confidence, movers through the sky, difficult to overcome, movers without a support, able to shake the earth with its seas and mountains, able to touch the moon and the sun, skilled in assuming different forms and making volitional determinations and resolves, gone to perfection in psychic power—monks such as these, sir, are called family-priests in the Lord's City of Dhamma." The following are added after the description of each base of psychic power: "based upon the detachment (viveka), absence of passion (virāga), and cessation, and directed or turned towards renunciation (vyavasagga-pariṇata)"[2].

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[1] Miln. p. 343.

[2] Cf. DN iii, p. 226.

IV. The Five Senses and their Powers (pañca indriya-balāni)—discussed under Nibbāna and further explanations are given under the Noble Eightfold Path below.

V. The seven limbs of Enlightenment (satta bojjhaṅgā)—Buddhaghosa defines these as 'bodhāya samvattantī ti bojjhaṅga', also defines as 'bodhissa ti pi bojjhaṅgo sen' āngarath 'āng 'ādayo viya'[1]. These seven limbs of Enlightenment are as follows :

i) Mindfulness (sati)—It has been discussed under Nibbāna and further explanation is given under the Noble Eightfold Path below.

ii) Investigation of Doctrine (dhammavicaya)—It is the investigation of the Dhamma, that is, all that has been uttered and taught by the Buddha. It is, probably, the teachings of the Buddha which are contained in the ninefold divisions (navaṅga)[2]. These are : sutta (the teachings of the Buddha mostly compiled in prose), geyya (instruction in mixed prose and verse), veyyākaraṇa (exposition, commentaries), gāthā (verse), udāna (ecstatic utterances), itivuttaka (brief sayings), jātaka (legends of Bodhisatta in his previous births), abbhuta-dhamma (description of supernatural power) and vedalla (message in the form of questions and answers). The text[3] asserts that only by the Investigation of the Doctrine out of the seven, the exalted position of Buddhahood can be achieved.

iii) Energy (viriya)—It has been dealt with under Nibbāna and further discussion follows under the Noble Eightfold Path below.

iv) Emotion of joy (pīti)—Buddhaghosa[4] defines pīti as fivefold, viz., khuddika (slight sense of interest), khaṇika (momentary joy), okkantika (oscilating interest, flood of joy), ubbega (ecstacy, thrilling joy) and pharaṇa (interest amounting to rapture, suffusing joy). Mrs. Rhys Davids[1] has pointed out that pīti connotes emotion as distinct from base feeling, It is referred to the khandha of saṁkhāras and not to vedanā (feeling) as it is a complex psychological phenomena.

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[1] DhsA. p. 217.

[2] Miln. pp. 161, 263, 341.

[3] Ibid. p. 83.

[4] DhsA. p. 115, Vism. p. 143.

v) Tranquillity (passaddhi)—It is often associated with pīti[2]. It is the tranquillity of the mental and bodily pain.

vi) Concentration (samādhi)—It has been discussed under Nibbāna and further discussion follows under the Noble Eightfold Path below.

vii) Equanimity (upekkhā)—The *Dhammasaṅgani*[3] explains it thus : 'It is the mental condition, which is neither pleasant nor unpleasant, the sensation or the feeling, which is neither easeful nor painful'. Mrs. Rhys Davids[4] observes "The salient characteristic of Equanimity is evolving a central position towards others, its function is seeing others impartially, its manifestation is the quenching of both aversion and sycophany, its proximate cause is seeing how each belongs to the continuity of his own karma."

VI. The Noble Eightfold Path (ariyaṭṭhaṅgikamagga)—is the key to Nibbāna. It avoids the two extremes—self-mortification and sense-pleasures[5] and follows the Path which is otherwise known as Middle Path (majjhima paṭipadā). It is a system of self-development and a graded process of moral evolution. In other words, the Path produces the spiritual insight and intellectual wisdom by which things can be seen in their true perspectives. The eight Paths are :

i) Right Understanding (sammā diṭṭhi)—It is the comprehension of the Teachings of the Dhamma, the realisation of the Three Signs of Being, viz., impermanent (anicca), without any substance (anatta) and sorrowful (dukkha), the knowledge of the Four Noble Truths (cattāri ariyasaccāni), i.e., sorrow (dukkha), cause (samudaya), cessation (nirodha) and way (paṭipadā), the nature of self and the law of kamma (action).

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[1] Compendium, p. 243.

[2] Cf. DN i, pp. 72, 73, 196.

[3] Dhs. p. 153, Translation, p. 28.

[4] On the Divine States, p. 23. quoted in Christmas Humphrey's Buddhism, p. 126.

[5] Kāmesukāmasukhallikānuyogo attakilamathānuyogo, Mv i, p. 10.

ii) Right Thoughts (sammā saṅkappā)—According to the *Dhammasaṅgani*[1] saṅkappa is synonymous with vitakka, initial application. It explains thus, "The discrimination the application, which is the disposing, the fixing, the focussing, the super-posing of the mind, right intention, which is a component of the Way, and is contained in the Way." The text[2] states its characteristic as 'appaṇālakkhaṇo vitakko'—the effecting of an aim. Just as a carpenter fixes in a joint a well-turned piece of wood, so is the effecting of an aim. Again, it is said[3], as the anchor holds the ship and keeps it firm in its place inspite of being agitated and confused by the turmoil of many waves, so the applied thought (vitakka) keeps steadfast in the turmoil of the waves of attachment, aversion and confusion (lobha-dosa-moha). Thus, the Right Thought eliminates wrong ideas or notions and helps the other moral states to be diverted to Nibbāna.

iii) Right Speech (sammā vācā)—Its essence is to control falsehood, slandering, harsh words and frivolous talk. The sweet words not only generate loving kindness but also are beneficial to others. Words truthful and trustworthy produce harmony among the fellow beings.

iv) Right Action (sammā kammantā)—It is the keynote of the Noble Eightfold Path. Buddhism is a religion of action. By the practice of Right Action one acquires merit. Craving, anger and ignorance cause the production of evil actions. They retard his mind in the progress of his desired Path. An unemotional mind restrains mental, moral and physical actions.

v) Right Livelihood (sammā ājīva)—means abstinence from dishonest and unsuitable pursuits and professions but earns one's livelihood by pure and honest means of livelihood.

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[1] Sec. 7, pp. 283, 298.

[2] Miln. p. 62.

[3] Ibid. p. 377.

vi) Right Endeavour (sammā vāyāma)—According to the *Dhammasaṅgani*[1] it is synonymous with energy (viriya). It plays an important role in one's life. It promotes the good which has already arisen and eliminates all obstacles to acquiring knowledge. It is fourfold, viz., to prevent new evils entering one's mind, to remove all evils that is there, to develop such good as is in one's mind and to acquire still more unceasingly.

vii) Right Mindfulness (sammā sati)—The text[2] characterises its qualities as repetition (apilāpaṇa) as well as keeping up (upagaṇhana). It is the beginning of the final stage. It is a vital factor in the treading of the Noble Eightfold Path. One who has to some extent acquired the moral and physical control, mindfulness is the necessity of cultivating, self-guarding and developing for him.

Elsewhere in the text[3], Nāgasena enumerates sixteen different methods from which mindfulness can arise. It is to be remembered in this context that actually seventeen methods have been given in the dessertation. It is, however, not improbable that any two of the seventeen must be taken as one, for example, either first and fourteenth, or second and eighth or fourth and fifth, or sixth and seventh. It may not also be unaccountable that the last one i.e., from experience (anubhūtato) is the root cause for the uprising of any one of the other sixteen. Because without any previous experience, mindfulness cannot arise[4]. Thus, in whatever way mindfulness arises, it is this previous experience that counts, just as the

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1. Sections 13, 22, 289, 302.
2. Miln. pp. 37ff.
3. Ibid. pp. 77-80. The seventeen are : abhijānato, kaṭumikāya, oḷārikaviññānato hitaviññānato, ahitaviññānato, sabhāganimittato, visabhāganimittato, kathāviññānato, lakkhaṇato, saraṇato, muddato, gaṇanato, dhāraṇato, bhāvanāto, potthakanibandhanato, upanikkhepato and anubhūtato.
4. Ibid. p. 77.

direct knowledge of experience (anubhava) arises when an object comes into contact with any one of the sense-organs. So the saṁkhāra remains. Later on, when the same kind or same type of thing comes into the fore, the saṁkhāra of the previous thing gives rise to mindfulness.

viii) Right Concentration (sammā samādhi)—It is defined as 'cittassa ekaggatā' i.e., one-pointedness of mind[1]. A concentrated mind is the highest aspect of the Noble Eightfold Path. It enables the aspirant to perceive the true picture of all things. Only time separates him from the longed-for destination i.e., Nibbāna. In the text[2] concentration (samādhi) has been described as one of the 'Seven Jewels' of the Blessed One and describing it says, "There is one diadem that is the chief of all and that is this diadem of Emancipation of heart"[3]. It serves as a polished mirror where everything is clearly reflected without any distortion. It is the essence of Buddhism.

The Buddhas or the Tathāgatas never seek any requistion with human help or from super-human means. By avoiding these they are praised everywhere[4]. It is the traditional custom of Tathāgatas that the recitation of the *Pātimokkha* should be made where monks only have assembled[5]. The Tathāgata, the Perfect Buddha, is mighty and unique in the world. There is no occasion for a second one to arise. It is the natural individual essence (sabhāvapakati) that only one Buddha should arise in the world at a time[6]. By reason of the might of the special qualities of omniscient Buddhas, the ten-thousand world-system would be able to sustain only one Buddha at a time. Thus he is adored as the highest and holiest of men (lokassa anuttaro, lokassa aggo)[7].

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[1] MN i, p. 301, Dhs. p. 15.

[2] Miln. p. 336.

[3] Aggaṁ etaṁ pilandhanaṁ sabbapilandhanānaṁ yad' idaṁ vimutti-pilandhanaṁ, Ibid. p. 338.

[4] Miln. p. 224.

[5] Ibid. pp. 190ff.

[6] Ibid. pp. 236ff.

[7] Ibid. pp. 216, 257.

# CHAPTER VI

## Soul :

The *Milindapañha* opens with the discussion on the theory of soul (puggala)[1]. It form one of the main topics of discussions. It is indeed a very controversial point in Buddhism. We find herein words like 'puggala', 'vedagū', 'vāyo', 'jīvo'—all conveying the meaning as the 'soul'—a 'living principle within' the human body. Man's ignorance of his own 'self', the nature and purpose of this psycho-physical organism has been meticulously expounded by Nāgasena as well, using ample similes and metaphors easily comprehensible even by a common man[2].

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[1] Puggala is a term generally means an immanent Soul, Spirit or Deity. According to the Sāmittiyas it is the sixth one produced on combination of the five aggregates. This leads to the question as to how the Buddhists explain the transference of Karmic effects of an individual from one existence to another.

[2] The doctrine of 'Anatta' or 'No-soul' of Buddhism is unique in the world's history of religions and all other systems of philosophy. It is generally believed that the soul is abiding, separate, constantly existing and indestructible entity which is generally believed to be found in man from the moment of his birth upto the time of his death and to exist after death in some other place, either in heaven or in hell, for all eternity. This soul is regarded as being separate for individual, it is a bit of the divine, a part from god implanted within each human being and destined, ultimately, to return to its Maker. As long as the soul resides in man. it is the thinker of all his thoughts, the doer of his deeds and the director of the organism generally. It is the lord not only of the body but also of the mind ; it gathers its knowledge through the gateways of the senses, Though it cannot be seen by the eye, nor apprehended by the mind, yet its existence is to be accepted on faith. Buddhism denies the real existence of the spiritual man, the soul, and to say there is only denial of soul as a permanently identical persisting entity. The Buddha is quite definite in its exposition when he declares : "Where Buddhas arise in this world or not, it always remains a fact that the constituent parts of a being are lacking in a soul".

The physical enquiry regarding individual or individuation has been the kernel of doctrine enshrined in narrative and exegesis in Buddhist literature. A man's nails, hairs, teeth, skin, or flesh, each of them or collectively, cannot form his individuality. Not even mere names signify anything for forming a complete idea of the individual concerned as it is supposed. The names are nothing 'but a denotation, appellation, designation, a current usage, a mere name'[1] only to distinguish an individual from another. The term 'puggala does not mean real. It is only conventional truth (sammuti sacca) and not the absolute truth (paramattha sacca). This point has been illustrated by the simile of a chariot[2] just as different parts, such as, pole, axle, wheel, frame, etc. when combined together produce a chariot. By mechanically dividing it, the chariot can never be found. Yet each of its component parts is an important factor for producing a 'chariot'. In such a way the knowledge of an individual is based on some factors. These factors are called the aggregates (khandhas). They are five in number—rūpa (form), vedanā (sensation), saññā (perception), saṅkhāra (cognition) and viññāna (consciousness). They are collectively known as Nāma—rūpa (name and form). When we speak of an individual it is this 'nāma' and 'rūpa' that he is represented by personal name. It is only a conventional device to denote an individual and distinguish him from the other[3]. It is the psycho-physical organism based on 'nāma-rūpa'. In this sense 'nāma' may be translated by the word 'name' especially if it is remembered that the name of a man sets him apart from the rest of humanity because it acquires association with his character. Name consists of four aggregates except 'rūpa'. These are subtle mental elements[4] belonging to psychological and mental aspects of human individuality. Rūpa is the gross (oḷārika) consisting of material things of outward forms[1]. According to Nāgasena, the whole thing in its organic unity and co-existing together, an individual comes to be designated with such and such name as, Nāgasena himself is known by different names, such as, Sūrasena, Vīrasena, etc.[2]. But in the highest sense it does not mean a 'living soul within'[3]. Thus we find whenever mention is made of a person or soul or rebirth of a being, this should be understood as a mere conjunction and co-existence of five aggregates. In another instance, we find in the text[4] that the 'soul' is designated as 'breath' (vāyo, jīvo). It has come to mean the self-conscious centre of human personality. People generally mistake a mere consciousness as soul. But it is nothing but mental abstraction as much an abstraction as any generic term[5].

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[1] Saṅkhā samaññā paññatti vohāra nāmamattaṁ, Miln. p. 25.

[2] Ibid. p. 27.

[3] Evam'eva kho mahārāja, mayhampi kese ca paṭicca, lome ca paṭicca-pe-matthaluṅgañca paṭicca, rūpañca paṭicca, vedanāñca paṭicca, saññañca paṭicca, saṇkhārañ ca paṭicca, viññānañca paṭicca nāgaseno'ti saṅkhā samaññā paññatti vohāro nāmamattaṁ pavattati, Ibid. p. 28.

[4] Sukhumā citta cetasikā dhammā, Ibid. p. 49.

From Nāgasena's point of view, all objects can only be known by their sensations. These sensations vary, are impermanent and independent of one another. There is no ruling or controlling master over them. It is like a natural slope, a door, a habit, an usual practice[6]. For whatever be grasped at all by consciousness that it cannot consist of thought-perception (manoviññāna) since all consciousness is conditioned by the organs of consciousness[7]. Hence, the sensation or more expressively 'the natural knower' (vedagū) of a person gives no permanency to man[1]. They come into existence like a sound produced by the lute which does not come from any 'store' and does not go to even either[2]. The aggregates, as is emphasised, are part of the whole in its bhava (becoming) existence.

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[1] Cattāro mahābhūta i.e. four great elements such as, paṭhavi (earth), āpo (water), tejo (energy) and vāyo (wind).

[2] Miln. p. 25.

[3] Ibid. p. 28—Paramatthato puggalo nū'palabbhati ; cf. also Miln. p. 268.

[4] Ibid. pp. 30ff.

[5] Bhutasmiṁ jīvo na upalabbhatī'ti, ibid. p. 86, cf. also ibid. p. 413.

[6] Ninnattā vā mahārāja, dvārattā ca ciṇṇattā ca samudacaritattā, ibid pp. 55ff.

[7] Contact (phasso), sensation (vedanā), perception (saññā), volition (cetanā), one-pointedness (ekaggatā), life-principle (jivitīndriya) and attention (manasikāro) —these are seven primary mental formations or properties (cetasikas) recognised in the Abhidhamma as bound up with all consciousness. Cf. also Dhs. 556.

The sensual experience that an individual gathers of the external world through the five gateways of knowledge—eyes, ears, nose, taste and touch. These five senses produce different sensations. If there is any 'living entity within' (abbhantare jīvo) and no local independence at all, as the king supposed to be, the discrimination can never arise—just as the tongue, the organ of taste, has not its local independence at all; the sweetness or bitterness of a thing can also be tasted and discriminated even when the thing swallowed passes beyond the range of the tongue[3]. The same holds true in the case of other organs of senses also. So the mental phenomena cannot be satisfactorily conceived of in an ego. As Nāgasena holds depending on the same subjective basis and stimulated by the same object[4]. Thus, for example, there must be eye, the organ of sight, there must be a visible object (rūpa) and in conjunction of these three produce the contact (phasso). It is conditioned for sensations. The consciousness is nothing more than a conglomeration of sensations[1]. 'Supposing there were an ātman that performs the actions of the senses, then if the door of sight were torn down and the eye plucked out, that ātman would be able to peep through the larger aperture and see the forms of its surroundings better and more clearly than before. It would be able to hear sounds better, if the ears were torn away, smell better, if the nose were cut off, taste better, if the tongue were pulled out and feel better if the body were destroyed'[2]. Hence the 'living principle within' cannot make use of whichever windows it pleases. And the simile of a man inside the house does not hold good[3]. Elsewhere Nāgasena, has given us an instance of a man who leads his bullocks with salt. But how can he know it is salt ? He sees and finds it white, tastes and finds it salty, weighs and finds it heavy. He then infers it is salt. But if the 'soul' were the man looking out of the four windows of his house, he would see the salt and need not take the trouble of seeing and tasting and weighing it. Nāgasena thus holds that this ephemeral body is composed of some dhammas (elements of being) or saṅkhāra (constituent of being). These dhammas are responsible for the existence of the material and mental world. They are the neutral elements from which both the name and form arise[4]. These dhammas are ever-changing. At no two moments they are the same. It is not static, but in a state of perpetual flux and in ceaseless motion[5].

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[1] Idha mahārāja cakkhuñca paṭicca rūpe ca uppajjati cakkhu-viññā-naṁ, taṁ sahajāto phasso, vedanā, saññā, cetanā, ekaggatā. jivitī 'ndriya, manasikāro' ti,—evamete dhamma paccayato jāyanti. Nah'ettha vedagū upalabbhati. Sotañca paṭicca sadde ca-pe-mānañca paṭicca dhamme ca uppajjati mano-viññāṇaṁ, taṁ sahajāto phasso, vedanā saññā, cetanā, ekaggatā, jivitī 'ndriyam, manosikāro' ti,—evamete dhamma paccayato jāyanti. Nah'ettha vedagū upalabbhatī'ti, Miln. pp. 54ff.

[2] Ibid. pp 52ff.

[8] "Evam'eva kho mahārāja, abbhantare yo jīvo jivhāya rase nikkhitte jāneyya ambilattaṁ vā lavaṇattaṁ vā tittakaṁ vā kaṭukattaṁ vā kasāyattaṁ vā madhurattaṁ vā'ti ?
"Āma bhante jāneyyā'ti.
"Te rase anto paviṭṭhe jāneyya ambilattaṁ vā lavaṇattaṁ vā titta-
"kaṁ vā kasāyattaṁ vā madhurattaṁ vā'ti ?
"Na hi bhante'ti.
"Na kho te mahārāja yujjati purimena vā pacchimaṁ, pacchimena vā purimaṁ"

[4] Ekavatthuko ekārammaṇo, DhpA i, p. 22.

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[1] Miln. p. 54 ; cf. P. Carus, The Gospel of Buddha, p. 26.

[2] This conversation is considered to give expression to the Theravāda view that the individual is only a conglomeration of five aggregates with no permanent identifiable entity ; the notion of the self as an entity is the result of the mistaken identification of one of the aggregates with the so called self. This is a point on which emphasis has repeatedly been given in Buddhism.

[3] Miln. p. 64—Ekato bhavaṅgatā ete dhammā gocaranattaṁ gatā—these things are of the nature of unity (but) there is a difference in their range.

[4] Dhamma implies absence of an entity or living soul, DhsA. p. 49.

[5] Nadi soto viya, like the current of a stream, is the Buddhist idea of existence, Compendium, p. 8.

Since these moments of fresh impacts must be added to our consciousness. Therefore, we are an ever-changing identity. It is like milk turning into curds, curds into butter and butter into ghee. In short, it is a process of change without anything changing[1].

Saṅkhāra, as Keith[2] observes, should not be regarded "as things in relation to mind ; rather the term has more general signification of product, as well as producing and is therefore naturally and directly applied to the whole world of external reality as well as to mental products. Hence life must be understood as a dynamic and ceaseless motion of events and sequences. For compendiousness of expression, we speak of the aggregate as 'consciousness' and this consciousness we speak of sometimes as 'Ego', 'Soul', etc. Life, being conditioned, is naturally transient and subject to decay[3]. So the impact of conditions precedent to sensation is believed to be the sāra or substratum of the individuality ; it is nothing but only certain sensations or perceptions or cognitions or volitions or consciousness that we naturally misconceive of a 'living entity within'. In the highest sense there is no soul[4]. "There is no being, there is only Becoming. The state of every individual is unstable, temporary, sure to pass away. Even in things we find, in each individual, Form and other Material qualities. In living organisms there is a continually ascending series of Mental qualities also. It is the union of these that makes the individual. Every person, or thing, or God is therefore a putting together, a compound. And in each individual, without any exception, the relation of its component parts is ever-changing, is never the same for two consecutive moments. It follows that no sooner has separateness, individuality begun, than dissolution, disintegration, also begins. There can be no individuality without a putting together ; there can be no becoming without a becoming different; and there can be no becoming different without a dissolution, a passing away, which sooner or later will inevitably be complete''[1]. Here is a pertinent question : Is the doer of deeds, the reaper of its results in successive births and the experiencer of bliss in Nibbāna one and the same or is he another ? The traditional answer has been 'he is neither the same nor the other'[2]. By this verbal quibble Buddhism has avoided the problem, but not solved it[3].

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[1] According to the Sarvāstivādins this process of change is called bhavanyathatvā.

[2] A. B. Keith, Buddhist Philosophy, p. 74.

[3] Sabbe saṅkhārā aniccā, Mahāparinibbānasuttanta, also cf. Dhp. v. 277.

[4] Miln. pp. 28, 268.

It appears if the conjunction of aggregates is responsible for this ephemeral body which is impermanent, then it endangers ethical living. The ever-changing dhammas of this life naturally make moral responsibility impossible[4]. But Buddhism which advocates the Middle Path (Majjhimapaṭipadā) and steers on the doctrinal approach in right direction, one can solve the problem of annihilationism and eternalism[5]. Nāgasena, too, keeping in line of Buddhist contention has argued that a new individual comes into being at each stage of life series. This same person is not the same person of the previous moment[6]. Man's life as a bhava (becoming) existence is dependent on Kammasantati or the continuity of an impulse.

The doctrine of kamma (deeds) applies to all sentient life. Kamma, meaning cause-effect, governs all existence. It is logical, therefore, to hold that the deed of each part of life affects the whole, be it good or evil. It postulates the persistence of life which appears again and again in reincarnated forms though transformed into new shapes and forms depending on the deeds performed in previous existence.[1] This constant succession of birth and death in connection with each individual's 'life-flux' constitutes what is known as 'Saṁsāra', 'faring-on'. This Nāgasena explains to a question put by the king Milinda.[2]

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[1] Rhys Davids, Early Buddhism, pp. 56-7.

[2] Na ca so na ca añño Miln. pp. 40ff

[3] Incidentally it may be remembered that the rejection of the notion of an immortal soul has also been found in Greek philosophy and in some other systems of Indian philosophical speculations.

[4] Miln. pp. 25, 46.

[5] Ibid. pp. 40ff ; cf. The Middle Way, SN, Vol. 20, No 3, p. 54.

[6] "Taṁ kiṃ maññasi mahārāja ? Yadā tvaṁ daharo taruṇo, mando, uttānaseyyako ahosi, so yeva tvaṁ etarahi mahanto'ti. "Na hi bhante ; añño so daharo, taruṇo, mando, uttānaseyyako ahosi, añño ahaṁ etarahi mahanto'ti".

Milinda— When you speak of Saṁsāra, Nāgasena, what does that mean ?

Nāgasena—A being born here, O king, dies here. Having died here, it springs up elsewhere. Having been born there, then it dies. Having died there, it springs up elsewhere. That is meant by Saṁsāra.

Milinda— Give me an illustration.

Nāgasena —It is like the case of a man who after eating a mango, should set the seed in the ground. From that a great tree would be produced and give fruit. And there would be no end to the succession, in that way, of mango trees.

In Buddhist texts it is repeatedly stated that a being is subject to his deeds, inherits the good or bad effects and has its origin out of his own deeds[3]. It is on account of difference in deeds that one appears different in the birth of beings—long lived (dighāyūkā) and short-lived (appāyūkā), the diseased (bavhābādhā) and the healthy (appābādhā), the ugly (dubbaṇṇā) and the beautiful (vaṇṇavanto), the powerless (appesakkhā) and the powerful (mahesakkhā), the poor (appabhogā) and the rich (mahābhogā), the low-born (nīcakulinā) and the high-born (mahākulinā), the ignorant (duppaññā) and the wise (paññāvanto)[1]. As Mrs. Rhys Davids[2] observes, “Afflictions are for the Buddhists so many forms not of prepayment, by which future compensation may be claimed but of settlement of outstanding debts accruing from bad, that is to say from evil bringing, unhappiness-promoting acts, done either in this life or in previous life’. Thus, a man reconnects without transmigration. The point is illustrated by the instance of lamp. One lamp is lighted from another and there is no passing of any light from one lamp to the other. The light which lighted first serves only the necessary condition for setting fire to the other[3]. Here life is compared to a flame. Rebirth is the transmitting of this flame from one group to another. The flame of life is continuous although there is an apparent break at so-called death.

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[1] Miln. p. 46.

[2] Ibid. p. 77.

[3] Cf. Kammanā vattati loko kammanā vattati pajā, SN 654. also Kammassakā sattā kammadāyādā kammayoni kammaṁ satte vibhajati yadidaṁ hīnappaṇītatāyā'ti, MN iii, p. 203 ; AN iii, p. 72, 186, etc. Nāgasena's reply to the identical question put by king Milinda, p. 65.

In the process of ‘life’, it is the result of man’s thoughts in the past and this present thought will condition his future lives. A deed depends upon a thought, in fact, it is the manifestation of thought. His thought in the past is the condition for his present vision at any given moment. It is determined by and depends upon the nature, characteristics and the tendencies created by his thoughts. Similarly, his future vision will depend upon the thoughts and actions of his present existence[4]. Every cause is the result of an anterior cause and it produces an effect which, in turn, will be the cause of an effect. In order to ‘arrest’ the life continuum (santati) he must seek the cause and its relation, so that he would be free from the cycles of births and deaths[5]. It is emphasised that nothing whatever happens by chance but only in a regular sequence—

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[1] Miln. p. 65.

[2] Buddhism, p. 124.

[3] Miln. p. 71.

[4] Iminā pana mahārāja nāmarūpena kammaṁ karoti sobhanam vā pāpakaṁ vā, tena kammena aññam nāma rūpaṁ paṭisandahati, Miln. p. 46.

[5] Yo hetu, yo paccaya paṭisandahanāya tassa hetussa tassa paccayassa uparama jānāti so na paṭisandahissāmī'ti, ibid. p. 41.

that being present this becomes ; that not being present, this does not become[1].

It is applicable to the whole causal formula which consists of twelve nidānas (links and causes), the necessary relations which exist between these stages of human life. The appellation is stated in the cycle of Dependent Origination (Paṭiccasamuppāda) In other words, the principle of Dependent Origination explains the exact manner in which bhava (existence) takes place.

Walpole Rahula expressing the Theravāda point of view traces all the evils in the world to this erroneous view of the self. He states "Buddhism stands unique in the history of human thought in denying the existence of such a soul, self or Atman. According to the teaching of the Buddha, the idea of self is an imaginary, false belief which has no corresponding reality, and it produces harmful thought of 'me' and 'mine', selfish desire, craving, attachment, hatred, ill-will, conceit, pride, egoism and other defilements, impurities and problems. It is the source of all the troubles in the world from personal conflicts to wars between nations. In short, to this false view can be traced all the evil in the world".

## Nibbāna :

The true connotation of the term Nibbāna or its true nature, is a polemic in Buddhism. It appears that the ambiguity to describe the state or condition or place to which the Buddhist looks forward to as his ultimate goal, continues to pervade even upto the age of king Menander whose questions on the subject elicited from Nāgasena's replies may now be examined.

It can be said from Nāgasena's point of view that Nibbāna is nothing more than the destruction of craving. Life is a suffering and repeated rebirth depends upon man's craving. In order to stop the cycle of birth and death, and the consequent suffering thereof, one has to stop the desire. Nāgasena's answers in this connection is that if he clings further to attachment he will be born again and if he does not, he is free from the cycles of births and deaths[1]. Nibbāna is nothing else but cessation[2] of craving and ultimately thereby the cessation of the individuality. The craving for life, in the wide sense, engenders a desire (lit. upādāna) for pleasure which results in procreation. The craving for existence in the dying man is translated into a rebirth[3]. Thus it is the negative aspect of his positive advance in becoming[4]. It is evident from the statement of Nāgasena that by clinging to sense-pleasure contact arises, by the arising of contact sensation arises, by the arising of sensation craving arises, by the arising of craving action arises[5]. Hence action regulates one's life[6]. Thus with the cessation of craving ceases the link. This is the positive aspect of Nibbāna. It may be defined as the most complete independence of the activities of the senses and as the complete mastery over further attachment to them. It is, after all, without any residuum left which can give rise to a new life. It is, indeed, the rasa or the underlying trend and ultimate goal of Buddhism[7]. The king wants to know whether Nibbāna exists and if so, it can be shown by a simile. Nāgasena replies that Nibbāna is (atthidhamma)[1] like the wind which cannot be seen but only felt, so Nibbāna can be realised by the mind, it cannot be shown[2]. If then Nibbāna exists, how can it be known and where is its position, questions further the king. Nāgasena answers thus :

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[1] Evameva kho mahārāja dhammasantati sandahati, añño uppajjati, añño nirujjhati ; apubbaṁ acarimaṁ viya sandahati, ibid. p. 40. Cf. Imasmiṁ sati idaṁ hoti, imassuppādā idaṁ uppajjati, Imasmim asati idaṁ na hoti, imassa nirodho idaṁ nirujjhati, MN ii, p. 32.

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[1] Sace mahārāja sa-upādāno bhavissāmi paṭisandahissāmi, sace anupādāno bhavissāmi na paṭisandahissāmī'ti, Miln. pp. 32, 68.

[2] Nirodho nibbānan'ti, ibid. p. 68. It is also said that the stopping of becoming is Nibbāna at SN ii, p. 117 ; AN v, p. 9.

[3] Miln. pp. 32, 48ff ; also cf. ibid. pp. 126ff.

[4] B. C. Law, Nirvāṇa, Cultural Heritage of India, pp. 547ff.

[5] Cakkhuñca paṭicca rupe ca uppajjati cakkhuviññānaṁ tinnaṁ saṅgati phasso, phasso paccayā vedanā, vedanā paccayā taṇhā, taṇhā paccayā kammaṁ, kammato pana cakkhuṁ jāyati, Miln. p. 50.

[6] Evameva kho mahārāja iminā nāmarūpena kammaṁ karoti sobhanaṁ vā pāpakaṁ vā tena kammena aññaṁ nāmarūpaṁ paṭisandahati, tasmā na mutto pāpakehi kammehī'ti, ibid. p. 46.

[7] Parisuddhena cittena ārammaṇe patiṭṭhāya tena cittena pātabbam vimuttirasaṁ asecanan'ti, ibid. p. 405, cf. Cv. ix, p. 1, 4 ; B. M. Barua, Aspects of Early Buddhism, IHQ vol. I.

> "There is no spot looking East, West or North, above, below, or beyond, where Nibbāna is situate, and yet Nibbāna is, and he who orders his life aright, grounded in virtue and with rational attention, may realise it whether he lives in Greece, China, Alexandria or in Kosala.
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> "Just as fire exists and yet there is no place where fire (by itself) is stored up. But if a man rubs two sticks together the fire comes. So Nibbāna exists though there is no spot where it is stored up, but it is attained when the necessary conditions are fulfilled"[3].

Accepting that there is no place where Nibbāna is stored up, the king further wants to know whether there is any basis upon which a man stands and ordering his life aright realises Nibbāna. Nāgasena replies that if grounded on virtue and careful attention, in whatever place a man may be, he who orders his life aright will attain Nibbāna[4].

Nāgasena further removes the doubt of the king and asserts that Nibbāna exists and it is the tranquil state of internal nature. If one cannot conceive it with one's worldly knowledge, it would be illogical to conclude that it does not exist. Because a blind man cannot see light, can it be said that there exists no light ? It can be apprehended only by the instruments of a gradually matured knowledge. It cannot be pointed out (anidassana) nor is it subject to description (nippapañca). It is all bliss and unalloyed and there is no intermingling of pain

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1. Miln. p. 316.
2. Ibid. pp. 270ff.
3. Ibid. pp. 326, 327.
4. Ibid. pp. 326ff.

in it, though the process after seeking it is painful to which Nāgasena agrees[1]. "Those who are in quest of Nibbāna, afflict their minds, and bodies, it is true, restrain themselves in standing, walking, sitting, lying and food, suppress their sleep, keep their senses in subject, abandon their very body and their life. But it is after they have thus in pain, sought after Nibbāna, that they enjoy the Nibbāna which is bliss unalloyed -as teachers do, the bliss of knowledge. Thus it is, O king, that Nibbāna is all bliss and there is no pain mingled with it. For Nibbāna is one thing and the pain another"[2]. The condition for arising of Nibbāna can never be located. For Nibbāna is uncompounded (asaṅkhata)[3]. "All beings, O king, who are conscious, are karma-born (spring into existence as the results of karma), Fire and all things growing out of seeds, are cause-born (the result of a pre-existing material cause). The earth, the hells, water and wind—all these are season-born (depend for their existence on seasons connected with weather). Space and Nibbāna exist indepedently[4], alike of karma and causes and seasons. Of Nibbāna, O king, it cannot be said that it is karma-born, cause-born or season-born ; that it has been or has not been or can be produced, that it is past or present or future, that it is perceptible by the eye or the nose or the ear or the tongue or by the sense of touch. But it is perceptible, O king, by the mind. By means of his pure heart, refined and straight, free from obstacles free from low cravings that disciples of Noble Ones who has fully attained can see Nibbāna"[5], Thus it is to be realised by the mind, by the pure heart, by right practices, free from obstacles and cravings.

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[1] Miiln. p. 314.

[2] Ye pana taṁ nibbānaṁ pariyesanti te kāyañ-ca-cittañ-ca ātupetvā ṭhānacaṅkama-nisajja-sayanāhāram pariggahetvā middhaṁ uparundhitvā āyatanāni paṭipiletvā kāyañ-ca jivitañ-ca pariccajitvā dukkhena nibbānaṁ pariyesitvā ekantasukhaṁ nibbānaṁ anubhavanti, ācariya viya sippasukhaṁ. Evaṁ mahārāja ekantasukhaṁ na dukkhena missaṁ, aññaṁ dukkhaṁ, aññaṁ nibbānan-ti—Miln. p. 315.

[3] Ibid. p. 270.

[4] Regarding discussion of Space see supra P. 15.

[5] Miln. pp. 268, 271.

Even those who do not realise Nibbāna know that Nibbāna is bliss. Just as one knows how sad a thing it is to have his hands and feet cut off by hearing the sound of lamenting of others, so hearing the glad words of those who have seen Nibbāna which they have not received, one knows what a state of bliss Nibbāna is[1]. As to Nāgasena's contention Nibbāna is a state of mental beautitude arising from knowledge (vijjāvimutti)[2].

Nibbāna is a dhamma in so far as it is an object of attainment through the life of effort. It can be realised only when the necessary conditions are fulfilled and then can one see Nibbāna face to face. It can be said that there is a cause of realisation of Nibbāna but not of its origin. Just as one can go to the Himalayas but cannot bring them to oneself[3]. The aspirant, when regulates his life aright in whatever place he may reside, enters in that City of Dhamma. It is a transcendental state to be realised by one's intuitive wisdom. It is to be realised not by quiscent meditation only, nor in hypnotic trance, much less by mortification of desire, but by rational discontent, strong anguish, longing, followed by forward leap of the mind into peace and calm, then again by a vibrating zeal in which the aspirant strives with might and main along with the path[4]. Just as a man who venturing into a strange land, has lost way, on becoming aware of the path, free from jungle, that will lead him home, bounds forward along it, contented in mind, exulting and rejoicing at the thought : 'I have found the way at last !', so the mind of the aspirant leaps forward into that state in which there is no becoming and then he found peace, then does he exult and rejoice at the thought : "A refuge have I found at last !"[5].

As we have seen before, the so-called being consists of name and form (nāma-rūpa). It is dynamic in its life-

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1. Miln. pp. 69ff.
2. Ibid. p. 319.
3. Ibid. p. 269.
4. Ibid. pp. 325ff.
5. Ibid. p. 326 ; cf. ibid. p. 36 where it is said leaping forward is a mark of faith.

continuum (santati). Ignorance (avijjā) and craving (taṇhā) are the root causes, which, when overcome, cease the flow of births and deaths[1]. Nāgasena, in this connection, discusses some good qualities (kusala dhammas) by developing of which an aspirant could attain Nibbāna. He has expounded in detail with apt similies and illustrations the special features of each of these qualities and showed their powers to stop evil dispositions[2], so that the aspirant can break the cycles of births and deaths and thus becomes free from sufferings. These are : morality (sīla), faith (saddhā), exertion (viriya), mindfulness (sati) and concentration (samādhi)[3].

According to Nāgasena, morality (sīla) is the support[4] upon which all the good qualities, viz., controlling faculties and their powers (indriyabalas), limbs of enlightenment (bojjhaṅgas), paths (to Nibbāna), application of mindfulness (satipaṭṭhāna), right efforts (sammappadhānas), bases of psychic powers (iddhipādas), meditation (jhāna), deliverance (vimokhha), concentration (samādhi) and attainment (samāpatti) depend[5]. Just as all these forms of animal and vegetable life which grow, develop and mature do so with the earth as their base ; so does the recluse, who is devoted to effort, develops in himself the five moral powers and so on, by means of virtue, on the basis of virtue[6].

Morality (sīla) is of four kinds[7], viz., Pātimokkhasaṁvara-sīla (the fundamental moral code), Indriyasaṁvara-sīla (morality pertaining to self-restraint), Ājivapārisuddha-sīla (morality pertaining to purity of livelihood) and Paccayassannissita-sīla (morality pertaining to the use of the necessaries of life). These are collectively called Sīla-visuddhi (purity of virtue). By following and observing the rules of morality the aspirant reaps a rich harvest and progresses to his desired path[1]. It has also been interpreted in relation to the ideals of purification and restraint, as they realised with the body, the speech and the mind[2]. Thus faith (saddhā) arises in him who purifies his mind (citta) by practising the codes of morality. It helps him in the path to achieve the goal. It has two characteristics—one is tranquillisation and the other is aspiration[3]. With the arising of faith, hindrances (nīvaraṇas)[4] are destroyed, the mind (citta) becomes pure, tranquil and unstained[5]. It is aspiration in the sense that 'on perceiving how the hearts of others have been set free, it aspires to enter as it were by a leap upon the fruit of the first stage or of the second or of the third in the Excellent Way or to gain Arhatship itself, and thus applies himself to the attainment of what he has not reached, to the experience of what he has not yet felt, to the realisation of what he has not yet realised'[6]. Exertion (viriya) plays an important part in a seeker's mind. It is by one's own exertion that one's deliverance is obtained. It is rendering of support. All those good qualities which it supports do not fall away. 'Just as a man, if a house were falling, would make prop for it of another post, and the house so supported would not fall ; just so, O king, is the rendering of support, the characteristic of exertion and all those good qualities which it supports do not fall away'[1]. It is an important factor in the achievement of the goal. It has been said by the Blessed One, 'The exerting learner of the Noble Truth, O Bhikkhus, puts away evil and cultivates goodness, puts away that which is wrong and develops in himself that which is right and thus does he keeps himself pure'[2].

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[1] Cf. Sabba pāpassa akaranaṁ kusalassa upasampadā,
Sacittapariyo-dapanaṁ, etaṁ Buddhāna sāsanaṁ —Dhp. v, 183.

[2] Kilese hananti, Miln. p. 39.

[3] Ibid. p. 33.

[4] Patiṭṭhā lakkhaṇaṁ, mahārāja, sīlam, ibid. p. 33.

[5] Miln. p. 33.

[6] Ye keci bījagāma-bhūtagāma vuḍḍhiṁ viruḷhiṁ vepullaṁ āpajjati sabbe te paṭhaviṁ nissāya paṭhaviṁ patiṭṭhāya ; evamete bījagāma-bhūtagāma vuḍḍhiṁ viruḷhiṁ vepullaṁ āpajjati. Evamete yogāvacaro sīlaṁ nissāya sīle patiṭṭhāya pañc'Indriyāni bhāveti—saddh' indriyaṁ, viriy' indriyaṁ, sati'ndriyaṁ, samādh'indriyaṁ paññ' indriyan'ti, ibid. p. 33.

[7] Ibid. p. 243.

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[1] Sīla forms the second three formulaes of the Noble Eightfold Path, viz., right speech (sammā vācā), right action (sammā kammantā) and right livelihood (sammā ājīva) and reckons as the first of the seven stages of Purity on the way to Nibbāna.

[2] Miln. p. 33 ; also cf. Sile patiṭṭhāya naro sapañño cittaṁ paññañca bhāvayaṁ ; Atāpi nipako bhikkhu so imaṁ vijaṭaye jaṭan'ti, Vism. p. 1.

[3] Sampassādana-lakkhaṇa saddhā, mahārāja, sampakkhandhana-lakkhaṇā cā ti, ibid. p. 34.

[4] The Hindrances are five in number viz., sensual desire (kāmacchanda), hatred (vyāpāda), sloth and torpor (thinamiddha), flurry and worry (uddhaccakukkucca), and doubt (vicikicchā).

[5] Saddhā uppajjamānā nīvaraṇe vikkhambheti, vinīvaraṁ cittaṁ hoti acchaṁ vippasaññaṁ anāvilaṁ, Miln. pp. 34ff.

[6] Yogāvacaro aññesaṁ cittaṁ vimuttaṁ passitvā sotāpattiphale vā sakadāgamiphale vā anāgamiphale vā sampakkhandhati yogaṁ karoti – appattassa pattiyā anadhigatassa adhigamaya asacchikatassa saccikiriyāya, Miln. p. 35.

Next comes mindfulness (sati), according to Nāgasena, with its characteristics as repetition (apilāpana) as well as keeping up (upagaṇhana). As the mindfulness springs up, the aspirant repeats over and over the good and bad, right or wrong qualities. 'Thus the recluse follow after those qualities that are desirable and not after those that are not, thus does he cultivate those which ought to be practised and not those which ought not'[3]. That is how repetition is the characteristic of mindfulness. And the recluse makes what is evil in himself to disappear and keeps up what is good[4]. This is the keeping up of mindfulness. Mindfulness, however, is closely associated with exertion (viriya).

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[1] Yathā puriso gehe patante aññena dārunā upatthambheyya, upatthambhitaṁ santaṁ evaṁ taṁ gehaṁ na pateyya. Evameva kho mahārāja upatthambhanalakkhaṇam viriyam, viriyu'patthambhitā sabbe kusalā dhammā na parihāyantā'ti, ibid. p. 36.

[2] Bhāsitam'pe'taṁ Bhagavatā—'viriyavā kho bhikkhave ariyasāvako akusalaṁ pajahati, kusalaṁ bhāveti, sāvajjaṁ pajahati, anavajjaṁ bhāveti, suddhamattānam pariharatī'ti, ibid. p. 37.

[3] Tato yogāvacaro sevitave dhamme sevati, asevitave dhamme na sevati, bhajitave dhamme bhajati abhajitave dhamme na bhajati, ibid. p. 37.

[4] Tato yogāvacaro ahite dhamme apanudati, hite dhamme upagaṇhati anupakāre dhamme apanudeti, upakāre dhamme upagaṇhati, ibid. p. 38.

Finally comes concentration (samādhi)[1]. It is the top (pamukha) of all the moral states and they all lead to that end. It is said that "as all the rafters of a house go up to the apex, slope towards it, are joined on together at it and the apex is acknowledged to be the top of all, so is the concentration in its relation to other good qualities"[2]. It has also been explained by the simile of an army leading towards the king gone on a battle-field. As the whole army—elephants, cavalry, war-chariots and bowmen—would have him as their chief, their lines would incline towards him, with him as their summit, round him they would all be ranged[3]. Thus it also the leader of all moral states.

In the *Anumānapañha* concentration has been described as jewel (samādhi-ratanaṁ)[4]. Just as a man adorns himself with a jewel, so also a recluse can put on the gem of concentration, In this *Anumānapañha* the different forms of concentration have been enumerated, such as, Savitakka-savicāra[5], Avitakka-vicāramatto[6], Avitakka-avicāra[7], Suññato[8], Animitto[9] and

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1. It is termed as Purity of Mind (citta-visuddhi). It forms the last three of the Noble Eightfold Path, viz., right effort (sammā vāyāma) right mindfulness (sammā sati) and right concentration (sammā samādhi). It is the second stage on the Path of Purity.
2. Kūṭāgārassa yā kāci gopāṇasiyo sabbā tā kūṭaṅgamā honti, kūṭaninnā, kūṭasamosaraṇā : kūṭam tāsaṁ aggamakkhāyati. Ye keci kusalā dhammā sabbe te samādhi-pamukhā honti, samādhi-ninnā, samādhiponā, samādhipabbhārā ti, Miln. p. 38.
3. Koci rājā caturaṅginiyā senāya saddhiṁ saṅgāmaṁ otareyya; sabbā ca senā hatthī ca assā ca, rathā ca pattī ca tappamukhā bhaveyyaṁ, tanninnā, tapponā, tappabbhārā, taṁ yeva anupariyā-yeyyuṁ, ibid. p. 38.
4. Ibid. p. 337.
5. Concentration with initial thought and discursive thought.
6. Concentration without initial thought but with discursive thought.
7. Concentration without initial thought and without discursive thought.
8. It means emptiness and seems that it denotes the absence of any substantiality in all things.
9. That is signless. The idea seems to be that an aspirant attains a

Appaṇihito[1] samādhis. Regarding 'vitakka' and 'vicāra', the text[2] characterises these as the effecting of an aim (appaṇālakkhaṇaṁ) and the thrashing out again and again (anumajjanalakkhaṇaṁ) respectively. Just as a bronze gong that has been struck reverberates afterwards and the sound lingers on, so applied thought is to be understood thus as 'striking', sustained thought is to be understood thus as 'reverberating'. It is also said that all the immoral states immediately disappear from the mind of that one who wears this gem. They can't live with him like the drops of water on lotus leaf[3]. Thus the *Milindapañha* describes it as the purest state of mind which generates peace and tranquillity in it. It is after the attainment of samādhi, in understanding the thing in its real perspective.

As we have seen before, morality (sīla) forms the preliminary stage and wisdom (paññā) is the end of means of attaining the Supreme Bliss, i.e., Nibbāna[4]. Thus the aspirant practising moral states and keeping faith and striving with exertion controls his mind through intensive concentration. Finally wisdom arises in him and with reasoning (manasikāro) he cuts off all the defilements[5]. With the arising of wisdom his mind becomes illuminated. It is also the characteristic of wisdom. It is by acquiring of wisdom that one perceives the impermanency (of all beings and things), the suffering (that

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state in which he enters the realm of the unconditioned and the causeless.

1. It is aimless. It seems that the aspirant becomes free from desire.
2. Yathā mahārāja kaṁsathālaṁ ākoṭitaṁ pacchā anuravati anusandahati ; yathā mahārāja ākoṭana evaṁ vitakko daṭṭhabbo ; yathā anuravaṇa evaṁ vicāro daṭṭhabbo'ti, Miln. pp. 62ff ; cf. also ibid. p. 60.
3. Ibid p. 337 ; cf also ibid p 250.
4. Paññā (wisdom) forms the first two of the Noble Eightfold Path, viz.. right understanding (sammā diṭṭhi) and right thought (sammā saṅkappa). This is the last stage on the Path of Purity.
5. Yogāvacaro manasikārena mānasaṁ gahetvā paññāya kilese chindati ... evaṁ kho ....chedanalakkhaṇā paññā'ti, Miln. p. 32.

is inherent in individuality) and the absence of any soul[1]. It is called jewel (ratanaṁ)[2].

The text further points out that Nibbāna has certain qualities inherent in it[3]. In all, forty kinds of special qualities have been mentioned. Some of these are : Nibbāna is free from all defilements and sufferings.[4] It is the abode of Arhats[5]. It drives out old age and dying. Nibbāna is not born, does not die, does not disease, does not arise, is hard to master, cannot be carried off by thieves. It depends on nothing, yet it can be realised by the mind. It is the sphere of the Aryans, without obstruction, unending. Nibbāna is hard to obtain, but once it is realised it brings to fulfilment of knowledge and freedom (vijjāvimutti). Nibbāna has the scent of moral habit. Nibbāna is lofty, immovable and free from approval and repugnance (anunayapaṭigha vippamutta), like a mountain peak[6].

Thus to describe what is Nibbāna in line with Nāgasena is that 'no further sorrow may arise, the complete passing away, without cleaving to the world, is our highest aim'[7].

**Buddha's All-knowingness :**

The all-knowingness (sabbaññutā) of a person is rare in human history. By all-knowingness is meant the capacity of knowing all things and it depends on fixing the mind on some matter and thinking over it again and again[8]. Buddha is said to be possessed of this quality[1]. It is no denying the fact that the religious masters of different religions are endowed with this quality. If not, the adherents of such sects would not follow the course prescribed by them[2]. Naturally, this doubt, too, arises in the mind of the king[3]. He puts Nāgasena the question whether Buddha can be said as an all-knowing one. Nāgasena in reply says that is true of him and further adds that his all-knowingness is dependent on fixing (āvajjana) his mind. By fixing his mind he knows what he pleases to know. In this proposition the king says that if Buddha has to fix his mind to know something, then he cannot be said of possessing the knowledge of all-knowingness. Because, as the king argues, an all-knowing person can tell anything without fixing of mind. Nāgasena solemnly declares that the Buddha is an all-knower possessing the knowledge of all things and of all times—past, present or future. According to Nāgasena, the all-knowingness is not an outward feature, rather it is a state that depends on mind. When the mind becomes free from all evil dispositions, it is purified and acted quickly[3]. And in such stage the quality of all-knowingness is produced. In this context, Nāgasena distinctly divides the consciousness (citta) in seven categories and explains the characteristics of each of them, the last stage being the consciousness (citta) which produces the quality of all-knowingness.

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[1] Paññā uppajjamānā avijjā'ndhakāraṁ vidhameti, vijjo'bhāsaṁ jāneti, ñānālokaṁ vidaṁseti ariyasaccāni pākaṭāni karoti. Tato yogāvacaro anicc anti vā, dukkh'anti vā anattā'ti vā sammappaññāya passati. Evaṁ kho obhāsana lakkhaṇā paññā'ti, Ibid. p. 39, cf. also ibid. pp. 86, 32.

[2] Ibid. p 337.

[3] Miln. pp. 154ff.

[4] Ibid. pp. 319, 322, 324.

[5] Ibid. p. 319.

[6] Ibid. p. 322.

[7] Idaṁ dukkhaṁ nirujjheyya aññaṁ ca dukkhaṁ na uppajjeyyāti etadattha amhākaṁ pabbajjā, anupādā parinibbānaṁ kho pana amhākaṁ paramattho, Ibid. p. 31.

[8] Ibid. p. 107.

Below is given a short account of these seven stages of consciousness :

1) In the first stage the consciousness (citta) is not free from attachment, aversion, confusion, evil dispositions (kilesas) and has no control over body, mind and wisdom. That is, due to defiling character of consciousness (citta), morality, concentration and wisdom cannot

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[1] Ibid. p. 102. The all-knowingness of Buddha has been elaborately expressed in the Paṭisambhidā Magga.

[2] Cf. Ācāraṅga Sutta of Jaina Canon : "se......jine kevali sabbaññu sabbabhāvadarisi' is said of Mahāvira.

[3] Miln. p. 106.

be practised[1]. Hence consciousness (citta) becomes doubtful and proceeds with perplexity.

2) The second stage is connected with the stream-winner[2]. In him three fetters (saṁyojanas)[3] are broken and being purified only with these three, he proceeds smoothly upto three stages ; but cannot reach the higher planes as his consciousness (citta) is not free from other evil dispositions.

3) The third is the stage of once-returner[4] who has reduced attachment, aversion and confusion, and purified himself upto five stages[5] and thus his consciousness (citta) rises and proceeds smoothly upto those five stages. Beyond this he cannot progress.

4) The fourth stage belongs to non-returner[6] who upto tenth stage[7] has purified himself. But he is entangled with further evil dispositions, so his advancement becomes difficult.

5) The fifth stage reached by the Arhats[8] who is purified through destroying the cankers, washing away all impediments (mala), leaving all evil dispositions, subduing the fetters of becoming, living the life fully, doing what is to be done, laying down the burden, attaining own

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[1] Cf. Vism. pp. 5, 157, 304.

[2] Sotāpanna i.e. who has entered the stream leading to enlightenment.

[3] They are : Sakkāyadiṭṭhi (heresy of individuality), Silabbataparāmasa (ceremonial rites and observances) and vicikicchā (doubt).

[4] Sakadāgami i. e., who will be reborn once in the world.

[5] Five being the first three fetters along with sense-pleasure (kāmabhava) and ill-will (vyāpāda).

[6] Anāgami i. e., who will not reborn in this earth.

[7] It is generally stated that the non-returner is freed himself from five lower fetters only as stated in 5 above.

[8] I. e , a Perfect Being who is no more subject to rebirth. He is said to be free from all the ten fetters i.e., the five fetters above along with rūpa-bhava, arūpa-bhava, māna, uddhacca and avijjā.

welfare and gaining the analytical insights. Then he rises and proceeds upto the disciple's range (sāvaka-bhūmi), but cannot forward further due to lack of complete purification.

6) The sixth stage is called Pacceka Buddha stage. He is a self-dependent without a teacher, faring alone like a one-horned rhinoceros. He attains supreme knowledge by himself only and has no power to guide others. He cannot reach the sphere of all-knowingness because of his purification in his own range only.

7) The seventh and the last stage is distinguished as belonging to Perfect Buddha who is all-knowing. He is said to be completely purified and possessed of innumerable special qualities[1]. Thus his consciousness is quickly changing (lahuparivatta) and producing inoperative act. He may lack the smallest degree of fixing, but when he is fixing his mind, he can know whatever he wants to know.

**Dhūtaṅga :**

Almost from the beginning of the text we find a discussion is carried on by king Milinda about the utility and significance of ascetic practices when he questioned venerable Āyupāla, a reputed Buddhist monk[2]. Later on, the king puts the same question to Nāgasena. His contention is that if any householder leading an easeful and happy domestic life can realise the peaceful state, then it is useless to undergo self-mortification (tapokamma, attakilamathānuyogo) through going forth from home to homelessness and observe the ascetic practices. Nāgasena, keeping pace with his usual mode of disquisition, has enumerated, expanded and elaborated the different modes of ascetic practices, their qualities and the ultimate gain achieved in such ascetic practices. He asserts that a householder even after enjoying the worldly pleasures and the one who has renounced the world—both are endowed with the fruits of ascetic practices. He, however, affirms that in the case of the householder it is impossible in a single birth to realise the peaceful state without former pursuits. The course must have to be completed by stages and thus conduct is purified[1]. The householder who has followed such course in his previous births is heaped up with unlimited and immeasurable special qualities in this life. On the other hand, an ascetic who has gone forth and is endowed with such qualities through right practices prospers quickly and without delay[2], because he is content with little, joyful in heart, detached from the world, apart from society, earnest in zeal, without a home, without dwelling-place, righteous in conduct, in action without guile, skilled in duty and in the attainments[3]. Due to this he is successful in method, in Dhamma and in what is skilled. Hence, he achieves quickly the exquisite and peaceful attainment without being hindered by anything. Elsewhere in the text[4], it is stated that the aspirant who has devoted his life in the ascetic practices and has thus acquired the special qualities has been called a Judge in the Lord's City of Righteousness.

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[1] The qualities are stated in this dessertation elsewhere.

[2] Miln. p. 20—sallekhitācārodhūtapaṭipattidhūtaguṇavaraṅga-nissitā—cf. also Ibid.pp. 230, 244, 348.

We find in this context certain terms such as, 'dhūtaguṇa'[5], 'dhūtapaṭipattikusala'[6], 'dhūtavādaṁ'[7], etc. which are quite unknown to canonical texts and point to the excellences of these practices. This group of practices are not recognised in early Buddhism, yet incidentally we find mention of certain practices, such as, 'Sapadānacāri', 'Piṇḍapātika', 'Paṁsukūlika', 'Abbhokāsika', 'Panthasenāsana' in some canonical texts. This has led many scholars to observe that the observances of religious practices in monastic life are later development since in Buddhist ethics emphasis has been laid more on mental than physical discipline. Thus Dr. N. Dutt[1] observes that 'the silence of the Nikāyas and the Vinaya is a distinct evidence of its later growth, or at least, its later recognition by the Theravāda sect'. It is striking to note in this connection that some of these ascetic practices of the distant past are still in the land of Orissa where there is existence of living Buddhism. We learn from little-known Oriyan manuscripts that 'of the twelve or thirteen ascetic rules mentioned in the Buddhist scriptures, the Mahimadharmin monk has even uptill now been observing the rules of Piṇḍapātika, Sapadānacārika, Ekāsanika, Pattapiṇḍika and Khalupacchābhattika ; but these are never found to be observed by Vaishnava monks or ascetics or those of any other sect'[2].

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[1] Miln. pp. 352ff.

[2] Ibid. pp. 244, 353—Pabbajitassa yaṁ kiñci karaṇīyaṁ sabban-taṁ khippaṁ eva samijjhati na cirattāya.

[3] Ibid. p. 244.

[4] Ibid. p. 343.

[5] Ibid. pp. 243, 348, etc.

[6] Ibid. pp. 244, etc.

[7] Ibid. p. 380.

*Dhūtaṅgas* or ascetic practices which we come across in the text[3] are usually found in the non-canonical texts. The word *Dhūtaṅga* is comprised of two words : *Dhūta* and *Aṅga*. *Dhūta* means, as Buddhaghosa interprets, shake off (dhūnātī'ti) i.e. of evil dispositions (kilesas) or hindrances (nīvaraṇas) to spiritual progress[4]. *Aṅga* is the knowledge obtained through certain modes. Hence, those monks who derive benefit out of certain practices are called ascetic practices.

Below is given a brief account of thirteen ascetic practices :

1) Paṁsukulikaṅgaṁ—The practice for using robes made out of rags taken from dust or refuge heap.

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[1] Early Monastic Buddhism, pp. 153ff.

[2] M. N. Vasu, Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa, pp. 174-5.

[3] Miln. p. 359.

[4] PED p. 177, s. v. Dhūtaṅga.

2) Tecīvarikaṅgaṁ—the practice for the possession of no more than three robes at a time. They are: saṅghāṭi (outer robe), uttarāsaṅgha (upper robe) and antaravāsaka (inner robe).

3) Piṇḍapātikaṅgaṁ—the practice to collect food by begging only from door to door and to refuse food in excess of bare need. No other mode of food-offering is permitted.

4) Sapadānacārikaṅgaṁ—the practice of the mode of begging to be observed indiscriminately, of rich and poor, from house to house in due order.

5) Ekāsanikaṅgaṁ—the practice of taking meal at one sitting only i.e., once only a day.

6) Pattapiṇḍikaṅgaṁ—the practice for the possession of one bowl and to accept all food, whether tasty or not, made over into that bowl.

7) Khalupacchābhattikaṅgaṁ—the practice for not taking any food after the meal is completed or even signifying intention of completion.

8) Āraññikaṅgaṁ—the practice of dwelling only in forests, away from the outskirts of towns and villages.

9) Rukkhamūlikaṅgaṁ—the practice to dwell under any shed and under a tree or resort to a tree on the outskirts of a monastery.

10) Abbhokāsikaṅgaṁ—the practice of dwelling in an open space neither using a shed nor a tree for living.

11) Sosānikaṅgaṁ—the practice for living in or near the cemetery.

12) Yathāsanthatikaṅgaṁ—the practice to use bed or seat whatever is allotted without any approval or disapproval.

13) Nesajjikaṅgaṁ—the practice to spend night in any posture without lying.

Nāgasena then reveals twenty-eight special qualities inherent in these ascetic practices that are longed for and desired of by all the Buddhas[1]. These qualities are : The practices lead to a pure life, the result is pleasant, worthy, it causes no suffering to others, fearless, free from any trouble, solely for growth[2], causes no downward trend. It is free from deceiving, a safeguard, a granter of will, a subduer of creatures. It has advantages to restrain oneself. It is seemly and free[3]. It relieves one of craving. It causes destruction of attachment, aversion and confusion[4]. It helps to be free from pride, to cut off wrong views, to cross over of doubts, to suppress idleness. It is free from discontent. It endures suffering and is incomparable. It leads to the destruction of all sufferings. Apart from these, there are thirty more excellent special qualities enumerated by Nāgasena which are endowed with the fulfilling of ascetic practices[5]. Those who rightly pursue these ascetic practices are endowed with eighteen qualities that enable them to realise the Summum Bonum of life. These eighteen qualities are : their behaviour is thoroughly purified, the course (paṭipadā) well fulfilled, body and speech well-guarded, the conduct of the mind thoroughly purified, energy well-exerted, fear allayed, false views of self (attānudiṭṭhi) gone to destruction, annoyance has ceased, loving kindness is established, nutriment is fully comprehended, there is esteem by all beings, there is moderation in eating, intentness on watchfulness, there is the homeless state, there is abiding there where is comfort, there is abhorrence of evil, delight in aloofness and constant diligence[6]. Elsewhere in the text[7], the one who is endowed with such special qualities has been termed as Judge in the Lord's City of Righteousness. Yet in the same breath he states that the benefit derived out of these practices bear no fruit to those who are unfit, full of evil desire or not properly pursue, or perform, rather they suffer double punishment and lament with cries for compassion[1]. According to Nāgasena, ten types of people are fit for the special qualities of asceticism. In other words, these are the qualities of a person who wishes to undergo such practices: the one who has faith, the one who is conscientious, the one who is steadfast, the one who is trustworthy, the one who is pursuing the goal, the one who is not greedy, the one who is desirous of the training, the one who is firm in resolution, the one who is not full of censoriousness, the one who is an abider in loving kindness[2].

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[1] Miln. p. 351.

[2] Possibly of skilled mental states.

[3] Possibly from craving.

[4] Lobha, dosa and moha.

[5] Miln. pp. 361ff.

[6] Ibid. p. 352.

[7] Ibid. p. 343.

However, in various ways and with apt illustrations Nāgasena closes the discussion by mentioning the name of Sāriputta who is said to have completed the course of thirteen ascetic practices and thus is endowed with the excellences of such practices. The king at last is convinced of the fact that the ascetic practice is the producer of super-mundane non-causating actions (lokuttara kiriyā) and bestower of widespread splendid achievements in the world.

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1. Ibid. pp. 357ff.
2. Ibid. p. 352.

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